Daily Report

East Europe

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'Tense Situation' After 'Incidents' at U.S. Base

AU1307133395 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 13 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by Besmir Gjergji: "Tense Situation at Gjader Air Base"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At about 2225 on Tuesday [2025 GMT 11 Jul], a dynamite explosion in the center of Lezhe shook the local residents. The target was the home of Shefqet Lata, commander of Gjader air base. The explosion fortunately did not endanger his family but caused considerable material damage. The police immediately came to the scene, and arrested several persons suspected of being culprits of this terrorist act following denunciations made by the air base commander. Despite our inquiries, the Lezhe police authorities have not issued the names of those arrested, because the degree of their involvement has still to be ascertained. Meanwhile, various accounts are in circulation in Lezhe describing the threat that might have cost the lives of members of the Lata family. Nevertheless, there had been no official statement from the police by yesterday afternoon.

In any event, this incident against a senior Albanian serviceman, occurring 10 days after a two-hour exchange of gunfire at the military airfield, has not failed to have its effect on other servicemen stationed at the Gjader unit, now a U.S. "minibase." This is all the more so because another incident had preceded this most recent attack.

Only four days ago, Albanian officers and soldiers who now live alongside their U.S. colleagues had a taste of how difficult this coexistence will be in the future. As if to cast a shadow over the joint Albanian-American experiment at the Gjader base, the theft of 200 meters of cable near the Pentagon's "campsite" gave rise to an incident that caused indignation among the Albanian forces. It is thought that the cable must have come in handy for local peasants seeking to repair defective electricity lines. Reports show the Americans' cable was stolen at a time when Albanian guards were on duty. However, instead of a regular investigative group coming to do its job, barbaric violence was used against the officers and men of the antiaircraft unit. The sole suspicion motivating the violence was the fact that this unit is responsible for guard duty in this part of the airfield. The military police and the special forces of our Army beat up their colleagues. Witnesses claim that this surprising operation against the unit was conducted under the orders of a major.

This serious incident that violates the status of servicemen has been kept secret during the last few days. Later, everything was made public by the soldiers' families. One of the brutally treated soldiers, who for obvious reasons wishes to remain anonymous, says, "They told us to hand over our weapons. Then they hit us with their fists and kicked us. Our superior officers could not help us. I saw with my own eyes an officer on the receiving end of a heavy bl

The soldier's father demands to know the names of the attackers, while looking with hatred at the Americans who were passing by at that moment. "We sent our lads here to serve the homeland, not to be beaten up because of the Americans' cable."

Despite our persistent demands for official confirmation from the responsible authorities, nobody has announced what happened at Gjader. It seems strange to pretend ignorance where a strategically important facility is concerned. It appears that they are remaining silent on purpose. Nevertheless, the first experimental U.S.-Albanian base is not settling down without incidents and annoyances. There have been three cases, including the explosion at the commander's house, which have provoked reactions among the population at large, who inevitably tie everything to the presence of the Americans at Gjader. Moreover, these incidents could also have repercussions within the camp where the U.S. troops operate. Affected by this psychosis, the Albanian soldiers have in the last few days been showing open discontent. Some of them block the Americans' path when the latter go on their morning runs, forcing them off the track. The furious Albanian soldiers have learned to swear in English, and there have even been shots in the air in order to "scare" the guests. However, the Americans have so far reacted calmly.

Turkey's Demirel, Berisha Hold News Conference

AU1307194295 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Report by Sokol Terihati on joint news conference given by Albanian President Sali Berisha and Turkish President Suleyman Demirel in Tirana on 13 July]

[FBIS Translated Text] The news conference wound up the two-day visit that Turkish President Suleyman Demirel made to Albania. Presidents Berisha and Demirel considered the relations between the two countries to be excellent.

I repeat, President Demirel said, that I consider Albania as a second homeland.

Both presidents stressed that no problem exists between our two countries.

Over the past three years, our relations have known new levels in all fields, such as economy, education,

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the army, etc., President Berisha said. We are grateful to the Turkish Government, people, and personally to the friend of Albanians, President Demirel, for the assistance he has rendered to Albania during these difficult years. Albania today enjoys macroeconomic stability, a liberal legislation, and appropriate conditions. That is why the Turkish investments will be welcomed.

President Berisha then declared that he has demanded the liberalization of visas for Albanians, something which was welcomed by President Demirel. Today we inaugurated a new block of buildings in Laprake, an investment of approximately $36 million, which shows that the road is open.

The brotherly Albanian people should be convinced that we will again be among the first to support you both politically, in the international institutions, and economically as well, President Demirel stated. Albania's relations with NATO and today's official admission to the Council of Europe show that Albania has greatly progressed ahead of the European integration, and we are happy for this.

Both presidents later considered the situation in the Balkans and particularly in Bosnia as very dangerous. The war there is a shame for the civilized world, Demirel said.

For his part, President Berisha considered the UN measures to be ineffective.

We warn the world, Demirel stressed, that the encouragement of the Serbian aggressor means the spread of the conflict to the south, something which should in no way be tolerated. The Balkans needs understanding and Albanian-Turkish relations are an excellent example for those who really want peace in the region, President Berisha stressed. The European integration processes do not accept limited alliances, that is why bilateral and multilateral cooperation should be encouraged to ensure peace and calm.

Kosovo should be at everyone's attention, Demirel underlined, because it is a very delicate point in the region.

Both presidents later answered reporters' questions regarding relations between the two countries and the international situation.

After the conference, President Demirel left for Rinas Airport accompanied by President Berisha.

It was an excellent reception, and for this I am grateful to my friend President Berisha and to the brotherly Albanian people, Demirel declared for the television. We discussed many problems with Mr. Berisha and Prime Minister Meksi and we fully agreed on all the issues. There is no doubt that the level of our relations will be excellent in the future as well, as we have many things in common with each other. I reiterate that you will have Turkey's continuous support in every direction, Demirel concluded.

To see Turkish President Demirel off, high ranking personalities such as Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi, deputies, ministers, and representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited in Tirana were out at the airport. The respective ambassadors Shkupi and Ornekol were also present.

After the national anthems of both countries were played, Presidents Berisha and Demirel reviewed the military guard.

Turkish President Demirel's visit to Albania is undoubtedly a new and important step in the relations between the two countries, but also for our turbulent region. This visit is also another success of the Albanian diplomacy in its road toward the country's international integration.

Berisha's Song: 'Immortal Prophet of Democracy'

AU1307133295 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 13 Jul 95 p 1

[Article by Ali Ukaj: "Berisha's Policies Set to Music"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—"You brought us pluralism: You got rid of communism." This is not a political slogan, but the text of a song dedicated to President Berisha, now recorded on a single cassette. This is the first song about the Albanian president, its melody now joining those of dozens of others to be heard on the streets of the capital. On this cassette, like few others since 1991, the strings of the popular bard's cifteli [Albanian folk instrument] exalt Berisha's name, but also the idea of democracy, the names of leaders of other political parties, and Europe. The song also deals with the vices of the new age.

This unique cassette costing 150 leks has now conquered the market. Itinerant cassette players have no hesitation in rewinding the tape whenever their surprised clientele want to hear this unusual song. It is a historical cassette, full of those the bard thinks are the heroes of the day, but also mentioning the dictators of yesterday, and even the names of the prisons of Spac and Burrel and the way we used to live. Even the internments and pillboxes are mentioned.

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The cassette, whose distributor remains anonymous, bears the single name of Ismail, and a picture of a popular bard is printed in place of the author's name. Not even the cassette sellers can dispel this mystery, but can only tell you of this cassette's success, and the age groups that like it best. They can only turn up the volume of their tape players. The bard goes on to hymn "the immortal prophet of democracy," and to the strings of his cifteli goes on to appeal for a better and more prosperous future—not forgetting higher wages.

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Konakchiev: Libya Agrees To Settle Payment Issue

AU1307183095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A Bulgarian Government delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister Doncho Konakchiev has returned from Libya, where it took part in the 20th session of the Bulgarian-Libyan joint commission.

Only a few minutes ago, Deputy Prime Minister Konakchiev ended a news conference at which he announced that agreement was reached that Bulgaria should receive the money owed by Libya in the form of petroleum products and through banking operations. The state debts amount to $48 million, and we expect Libyan companies to make settlement payments amounting to a further $300 million. Deputy Prime Minister Konakchiev gave this information to our correspondent Vanya Manolova. Our listeners can now hear his further comments summing up the results of the session:

[Begin Konakchiev recording] We reached an understanding that the payments should begin as early as possible, which in practice means in August this year. The chief result of the joint commission's work is that not only did we reestablish the good trading and economic relations between our two countries, but also widened the scope of these relations, thanks to which Bulgaria will rise from 25th or 26th to the first or second place.

In the minutes of the session we recorded a specific agreement that in two or three months Bulgaria will submit a technical and economic report—we assumed this obligation, incidentally—on the state of the Bulgarian concessions. The two sides will immediately discuss the report, and on its basis a decision will be adopted on the Bulgarian concessions.

I hasten to announce a further piece of news. By the end of this year, the numbers of highly qualified medical staff in Libya will rise from about 800 at present to 1,500. (end recording)

Nuclear Plant To Be Built After Year 2010

AU1407095495 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 12 Jul 95 pp 1, 13

[Staff report: "New Nuclear Power Plant After 2010"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A new nuclear power plant with a capacity of 1,500 megawatts will go into service after 2010, it is noted in the paper on power supply strategy up to the year 2020, which was adopted by the Committee on Power Supply on 11 July.

The new nuclear power plant will probably be Belene. However, it would be possible to install first the new reactors at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, after removing the old reactors. The four small Kozloduy reactors will function until 2003, and the fifth and sixth reactors—until 2010.

In 2020 Bulgarian citizens will pay 7 cents per kilowatt of electric power, the 1,600-page document prepared by "Energoproekt" forecasts. The current price is 1.9 cents. The price the document forecasts depends on the investment program being fully implemented. Some 6,680 megawatt of new capacities must be introduced by 2020. This project will cost $10-12 billion.

Some 30-40 percent of the country's energy will be generated by nuclear power and 30 percent by coal. The proportion accounted for by natural gas will increase from 3 to 12 percent. The experts sharply opposed gas as a source of energy, because of its unreliability as a power source. It could create problems in winter—precisely when we need it most.

After the completion of the "Chaira" hydropower station, and the "Sredna Vucha" and "Yadenitsa" dams, the hydropower plants will provide 7 percent of our electric power. The additional power we will need will be imported.

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Zieleniec on CE's Condemnation of Srebrenica

LD1307191595 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec, in his post as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe [CE], attended today's ceremony of accepting Moldova and Albania as members of the organization. Czech radio special correspondent Klara Stejskalova is on the line from Strasbourg:

[Stejskalova] The accession of Moldova and Albania to the CE is an important moment of our chairmanship, said Minister Zieleniec said. [passage omitted]

The Czech foreign minister today met Daniel Tarschys, CE secretary general, and Parliamentary Assembly President Miguel Angel Martinez, for tripartite talks. They discussed not only specific organizational issues but also the present international situation. In this context, they adopted a resolution condemning the fighting in Bosnia, above all the attack on Srebrenica. Answering a question about the resolution, the foreign minister said:

[Begin Zieleniec recording] In the aftermath of the attack on Srebrenica, we agreed on a resolution by all three CE bodies. It will be issued by the Secretariat of the CE, perhaps as early as today.

The resolution very firmly condemns the attack on the Srebrenica protection zone, very firmly condemns the fact that peacekeepers are being taken hostage, and condemns the fact that civilians are being taken away and are being expelled from the zone they inhabit. The resolution appeals to the international community, above all to the organizations involved with peace activities in this zone. [end recording]

Description of Expectations for Trade With Russia

AU1307130395 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jul 95 p 8

[Article by "(bel)": "Dlouhy Is To Hold Talks in Moscow on Trade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy is to hold talks on trade with Russia in Moscow at the end of this week. The official visit was spearheaded by talks involving his deputy and office head, Vaclav Petricek, who described their outcome as encouraging. According to him, Russia's stiff duties and its health certificates are among the obstacles to trade.

The objective of Czech trade policy in relation to Russia is to safeguard imports of strategic items, especially oil, gas, and other raw materials. As far as exports are concerned, the aim is to increase deliveries of engineering products and consumer goods, said Milos Rezek, director of the Trade and Industry Ministry (MPO) department for countries with a transitional economy, to RUDE PRAVO.

"Of the countries of the former USSR, Russia is our biggest trading partner. Of course, we are interested in involving our companies in government or regional projects for modernizing industry, power generation, and transportation," emphasized Rezek. For example, Czech firms would like to take part in the construction of the Yamal-Europe transit gas pipeline. There is also interest in establishing joint enterprises, especially to produce vehicles.

According to Rzek, one of the tasks of trade and economic policy is to fulfill the intergovernment agreement on the indebtedness of the former USSR and Russia. This involves settling government and enterprise outstanding claims.

A number of agreements concluded with the former USSR expire this year. According to information from the MPO, this mostly involves out-of-date agreements, and the Czech Republic is not interested in extending them. It will, however, be necessary to amend the so-called Yamburg Agreement on natural gas supplies. A new agreement will perhaps be concluded by the end of this year. Annual supplies should be increased from the current 7 billion cubic meters to roughly 11 billion in the year 2000.

Czech Republic's Trade With Russia Jan-Apr 95 (figures given in millions of korunas [Kc])

Imports	Kc15,968	(95/94 Index: 130.4)
Exports	Kc4,097	(95/94 Index: 84.5)
Balance	- Kc11,871	(Jan-Apr 94: - Kc7,398)

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Government To Cut Subsidy for Minority Journals

AU1207163795 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 11 Jul 95 p 2

[Report by "nak": "Some Ethnic Press Publishers Will Lose Their Subsidies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The publishers of magazines for ethnic minorities will not receive any subsidy next year if their publication is profit-making and also distributed outside the Republic. Igor Nemec, chairman of the government Council for Ethnic Minorities, said yesterday that a publisher will qualify for a subsidy only if he contractually promises that the number of remaindered copies will not exceed 20 percent of the total number of published copies. "The state cannot finance press that is not read even by the members of the ethnic minorities for whom it is intended," Nemec said. A sum of approximately 20 million korunas is to be earmarked from the state budget for the publishers of magazines for ethnic minorities.

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Reaction to Comments by George Soros

Ministry: SDL Discredited SR

AU1307170795 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 12 Jul 95 p 2

[Statement by Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman Juraj Matejovsky; place and date not given: "Who Is Provoking Fears About Slovakia's Orientation?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] statement in reaction to George Soros's comments [on Slovakia made at the Crans Montana economic forum], issued by SDL spokesman Milan Istvan on 6 July, requires a response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic [SR] because, when the SDL refers to "certain fears about Slovakia's isolation being expressed by the official representatives of some states," it is touching upon a fundamental issue of the Slovak Republic's orientation and its presentation abroad. The claims about Slovakia's isolation are not new. They used to be spread, in particular, prior to Slovakia's emergence as an independent state, and during the first months of its independent existence, but subsequent developments have clearly proved them wrong. The Slovak Government's activities in the sphere of bilateral relations and in international organizations clearly document Slovakia's broad international acceptance. The results of governmental policy, by which the government implements its policy statement, are sufficiently transparent, as is borne out by contacts at the highest level, the signing of the historic Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty, the submission of application for EU membership, or Slovak Republic representatives' participation in various international forums. At many places, and in many important capitals, in Europe and overseas, unanimous support has been expressed for the Slovak Republic in its process of integration into European and transatlantic structures. In defiance of these facts, and the positive signals from abroad in reaction to the Slovak Republic's political orientation, similar assertions [about Slovakia's isolation] continue to be made also today, which contributes to discrediting the international standing of our young state. It is, therefore, necessary to ponder which political entities, and with what intentions, provoke, or refer to, all sorts of "fears" about the Slovak Republic's orientation.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 July on page 2 carries the following unattributed statement: "'The SDL does not wish Slovakia's isolation and is making use of all its contacts, particularly in the Party of European Socialists, to push for the Slovak Republic's speediest possible integration into the EU and NATO.' This is stated in SDL Deputy Chairman Milan Ftacnik's reaction to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement. Milan Ftacnik voiced astonishment at the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 'accuses the SDL of discrediting the Slovak Republic,' noting that the SDL statement [of 6 July] was not reacting to the U.S. businessman's speech but to domestic political developments in Slovakia."]

SNS: Revolution Planned for Sep

AU1307130595 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Jul 95 p 1

[TASR report: "Slovak National Party Predicts Soros's Palace Revolution for September"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"We follow with concern the activities of certain foreign financial circles, including the activities of a well-known U.S. financier of Hungarian origin. The links between the activity of those circles and the present opposition in Slovakia are evident." This is stated in a statement issued by the Slovak National Party [SNS] Central Council Presidium. The statement draws attention to the fact that the attacks on Slovakia are escalating at a time when the first results of the verification of the Democratic Union petition sheets bear out that this party did not have 10,000 signatures [requirement for participation in the 1994 parliamentary elections]. Of the 2,200 signatures verified to date, 900 had been forged, the statement adds. "We avail ourselves of information that the above circles intend to 'invest' millions of dollars with the goal of destabilizing our society. These 'investments,' which are meant to corrupt deputies, are to amount to as much as $10 million per deputy. Once the needed number of deputies' votes is obtained, a new 'palace revolution' and 'picking up power lying on the ground' [allusion to Jan Carnogursky's statement of April 1991, made after the fall of Vladimir Meciar's first government] is planned for September."

MKDH Leader Views Talks With HZDS, Meciar

AU1307135495 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Jul 95 pp 1, 4

[Interview with MKDH Chairman Bela Bugar by Milan Stanislav; place and date not given: "We Direct the Attention of Those Who Can Warn the Government"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Political representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority complain frequently to the Council of Europe and other institutions. We discussed with MKDH [Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement] Chairman Bela Bugar whether their problems really cannot be dealt with at home.

[Bugar] I agree that all problems pertaining to us should be dealt with at home. As a matter of fact, Article 34

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of the Slovak Constitution even gives us the right to participate in solving them. What can one do, however, in our situation? On Monday [19 June], we met with the prime minister and other HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] representatives, on Tuesday, the government adopted the principles of the law on state language, and on Wednesday, they dismissed four principals of Hungarian schools. What else can we do if Minister Hudec, for instance, is not willing to talk with us? Education and culture are particularly sensitive areas for the life of minorities, and a single incompetent intervention can result in rising tensions. So, if they are not willing to talk with us, we have no other possibility. Especially, as there are certain outward declarations claiming that everything is fine, and an entirely different policy is implemented at home. Hence, we direct attention of those, who can point out to the government that its methods are not usual in the democratic countries.

[Stanislav] You mentioned the talks with the HZDS. Did this first meeting after many long months indicate some prospects for the solution to domestic problems?

[Bugar] The talks did not bring any conclusions that could be described as a historical breakthrough as the prime minister has done on several occasions. We talked, but no agreement was reached. The entire meeting was, in my opinion, only an informative one. The HZDS voiced its opinion on the Basic Treaty with Hungary, the framework treaty, and the current domestic political situation. We also expressed our opinion, and in some items—the president or the Democratic Union petition sheets, for instance—one could say that the prime minister and his movement hold a completely different view, and he even raised his voice.

[Stanislav] The agenda also included the alternative education. Why is the Hungarian minority so set against it?

[Bugar] It has been emphasized many times, even by the prime minister, that the alternative education would not be introduced by force. Is it, however, a manifestation of voluntariness when school principals are dismissed just for expressing their opinion on the alternative education? It is the method of force that has been used also prior to 1989. We do not object to the instruction of the Slovak language. We even claim that its present form is not good. Our experts produced several proposals on how to improve the instruction of the Slovak language in Hungarian schools. Minister Slavkovska refused, however, all these proposals. If someone wants the minority to get a better command of the language, why does he force the student to study some specialization courses in a foreign tongue? Their mother tongue is Hungarian. If someone studies mathematics, physics, or chemistry in a foreign language, it is obvious that he will learn that language better because he is forced to learn some special terms, but he will also lag behind in that special subject. That is not a good method, and therefore we object to it and the parents object to it. At the same time, however, they emphasize that the study of the Slovak language must be improved. If the children have an hour of Slovak every day, I believe they have enough room to master the language, but the methods used are apparently not good.

[Stanislav] The HZDS held talks also with the representatives of the emerging Hungarian People's Movement for Reconciliation and Prosperity. Is there a chance of a political rift in the Hungarian minority and its voters?

[Bugar] Such endeavors really exist. The prime minister pointed out to us that if we are not sufficiently willing to reach an agreement with the government, there is the fifth Hungarian party, with which one can negotiate. I drew the prime minister's attention to the strength of the parties in coalition. He can talk, but he should also take into consideration that the Hungarian Coalition enjoyed the support of more than 90 percent of all Hungarians living in Slovakia. Hence, we represent the Hungarian minority. The new party only represents some of the members of the minority. Of course, the prime minister also pointed out that it would not be very difficult to form a new association of Hungarian intelligentsia. Thus, efforts are evidently here to apply the "Pius model" from education, when a group was formed that was willing to negotiate [a group of teachers led by Miroslav Pius negotiated for themselves a better deal than the unions managed.]. The prime minister must be able to see that this method will not succeed in the instance of Hungarians living in Slovakia. I am able to make this statement now.

[Stanislav] A difference in opinions on the solution to some problem has been detected also by the representatives of the individual parties of the Hungarian coalition. Have you discussed it?

[Bugar] Everything must be discussed. The members of the Hungarian Coalition may differ on any problem. Therefore, we established the Coalition Council that is now working. It held regular sessions recently and dealt with problems on which we differ. Every coalition must work so that a joint opinion based on consensus formed on every specific problem. From this vantage point, I do not see any problem. Of course, there were differences regarding the Basic Treaty with Hungary, the framework treaty, and there will be differences regarding many other issues. If we speak about the opinion of the

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Hungarian Coalition, however, that is a united opinion of all its parties. [passage omitted]

Privatization Bill Debated by Parliament

AU1307145695 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Jul 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Milan Stanislav: "Opposition Resists Bonds; Jaroslav Volf Proposed Referendum on Coupon Privatization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The eighth parliamentary meeting continued yesterday with the final vote on the bill on some measures concerning the settlement of land ownership.

As expected, parliament spent most of yesterday's session discussing the amendment to the law on large-scale privatization. According to Privatization Minister Peter Bisak, the aim of the amendment is to regulate the process of privatization more comprehensively. The amendment significantly strengthens the powers of the National Property Fund [FNM] in direct sales. It also considerably changes the concept and meaning of coupon privatization. According to the government-sponsored draft, each investment coupon owner will receive a bond in the nominal value of 10,000 korunas [Sk], payable five years after its date of issue and bearing an interest equivalent to the discount rate. Roman Hofbauer, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], joint rapporteur for the parliamentary committees, emphasized the fact that the amendment unambiguously specifies the position of the FNM. The transfer of powers to the FNM was criticized by Peter Magvasi, Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], who said that, if parliament does not accept changes to the bill proposed by him, he would propose, at the next meeting of parliament, abolition of the Privatization Ministry because it will lose its raison d'etre. Brigita Schmognerova (SDL) argued similarly and proposed that the powers of the Supreme Inspection Office (NKU) be expanded to include control of FNM activities. She also warned that the Slovak Government was undermining its credibility by not adhering to its own policy statement. Mikulas Dzurinda, Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], reproached the bill for being in contravention of the Constitution because it restricts the ownership rights of investment coupon owners and communities. At the same time he pointed out that, as recently as in April, in its "Memorandum on Economic Policy," the government was still speaking about coupon privatization. Gabriel Palacka (KDH) highlighted the fact that the bill would enable people who have bought property from the FNM to buy up the bonds in bulk for significantly less than their nominal value and to pay back their debts to the FNM with the FNM's own bonds.

Peter Weiss (SDL) voiced his concern that foundations would be laid by the amendment for a nondemocratic structure of proprietary relations. According to Weiss, privatization has been turned into a "process of rewarding the loyal and compensating the naive." The fact that only a few people from the FNM will make privatization decisions, moreover, without the possibility of supervision by the NKU, creates opportunity for corruption. At the same time he proposed that the date of the bonds' maturity be moved forward to 30 June 1998 so that they mature two or three months before the elections. Ivan Simko (KDH) proposed that, in line with the Constitutional Court's verdict, the National Council pass a resolution abolishing the law on abolition of the Moravcik government's privatization decisions. Ivan Simko compared the mechanism of the new method of "bond privatization" with Heller's Catch-22. Jaroslav Volf (Social Democratic Party of Slovakia) considers the fact that the bonds are not guaranteed by the property of the National Bank of Slovakia as too risky. He proposed the passage of a resolution on calling a referendum with the following question. "Do you agree with the continuation of coupon privatization and the inclusion of property worth at least Sk60 billion in its second wave?"

The government-sponsored bill received backing from Michal Baranik (HZDS), who said that coupon privatization was not suitable for reviving the economy. The other shortcoming of this method, according to Baranik, is that it did not introduce social justice and equality. For Slovakia to achieve the same dynamic development as the "Asian tigers," we must establish a strong domestic entrepreneurial class, in his opinion. Michal Baranik regards as efficient also privatization by employees' shareholding companies headed by tried-and-tested managements. His speech triggered an endless exchange of factual remarks and mutual invectives.

The debate on the amendment to the law on large-scale privatization continues today.

KDH Deputy Opposes Amendment

LD1307132395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The dominant topic of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] news conference today was the amendment to the law on coupon privatization which was passed yesterday. KDH Deputy Chairman Mikulas Dzurinda explained the KDH's disagreement with the amendment to this law as follows:

[Begin Dzurinda recording] The first of our objections is that the amendment is the first major and unfavorable interference into the transformation of our economy.

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Second, I object to the fact that the amendment is unconstitutional, and last, that it is confusing.

It envisions virtually one form of privatization, that is, direct sale to a predetermined owner. It makes the conditions of those who acquire the assets difficult, it makes the conditions of repayments tougher which, on one hand, is certainly fine but the fact that privatization will be conducted merely by direct sales will mean that the whole privatization will take a very long time.

The law tasks towns and villages with accepting bonds [the 10,000-koruna bonds] from citizens. However, towns and villages manage their property according to the law but in a sovereign way. Apartments and houses are their property and it is simply up to them how they will dispose of this property.

The extent of ownership rights, compared with the present legal situation, is being narrowed down. In 1992 and 1993 the National Property Fund increased the property of the companies privatized in the first wave of coupon privatization by 7.5 billion korunas. This property is not being equally distributed among individual shareholders. This amendment means that National Property Fund has taken into its ownership the entire 7.5 billion, which is amounts to expropriating other shareholders and which is contrary to the Constitution. [end recording]

Citizens Invited To Supply Information to SIS

AU1307130695 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Jul 95 p 3

[Report by "TASR, ad": "Announcement by the Slovak Information Service"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Information Service (SIS) has asked for the publication of the following announcement: "In response to the increasing number of questions from the public and mass media about the possibility of contacting the SIS and submitting ideas and information concerning the SIS's interests and activity, we announce that the following address has been designated for contact with the mass media and citizens: SIS, P.O. BOX 69, 810 00 Bratislava 1; telephone/fax: 259 207."

We make use of this opportunity and, for the sake of completeness, offer to our readers the transcript of the SIS message on the answering machine: "You have called the SIS. You can send a fax or leave a message. In case of need to establish contact, state your name and telephone number. Speak after the beep for a maximum of one minute. Thank you."

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Kovacs Wants UN Troops To Remain in Bosnia

LD1307172595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The withdrawal of the Blue Helmets [from Bosnia] will lead to the widening of the fighting, the Hungarian foreign minister said at the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] headquarters in Vienna. Peter Zentai reports:

[Zentai] The Hungarian Government does not expect anything positive from the withdrawal of the UN troops from Bosnia. As the current OSCE president, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs held a press briefing in Vienna on all the topics that the organization is directly or indirectly interested in.

However, at the press briefing Laszlo Kovacs said in his capacity as Hungarian foreign minister that he rejects the withdrawal of the Blue Helmets and the lifting of the international arms embargo against Bosnia. According to the Hungarian Government, such measures can only lead to the widening of the fighting. [passage omitted]

Bokros Role in 'Repeated Bank Scandals' Viewed

95CH0282A Budapest UJ DEMOKRATA in Hungarian 1 Jun 95 pp 32-33

[Report by AGA: "The Government Still Has Money—So Far 35 Billion Forints Worth of Scandals Are Known"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The repeated bank scandals and the expected process of collapses among the financial institutions cause increasing uncertainty and hysteria in the financial world. Hungarian experts stress more and more that bank consolidation was only a Band-Aid solution for the bankruptcies of financial institutions, for the implementation of the program made it possible for top officials of certain financial institutions to make unethical and corrupt transactions.*

Hungarian banks have already been doomed at their establishment. After the introduction of the two-tier banking system, financial institutions were established in a distinctively East European manner. In a simplified scenario, banks are normally established by taking large sums of money and marking it BANK. In Hungary, however, financial institutions were founded by a lot of credit instead of money. Due to the burdens of interests and payments, banks that were established this way were doomed to failure from the very beginning.

By the end of 1993, the Hungarian banking system was threatened by a collapse. In order to avoid a total financial bankruptcy, the government decided at that time to launch a program of consolidation. One objective of the program was to abolish the system of everyone owing everyone.

However, the consolidation of banks and loans was carried out in Hungary without adequate control and care, and this was taken advantage of by several shrewd bankers. According to Hungarian analysts, top officials of the financial institutions, at the announcement of the consolidation, rushed to lay out bad loans—to companies in which said officials had some kind of interest, of course. As they were uncollectable, bad loans were paid back to the financial institutions through the bank consolidation program.

However, in some cases the consolidation program could not handle all the loans some banks had laid out. For this reason, some of the financial institutions, instead of ameliorating their situation, were heading toward bankruptcy. As Budapest Bank's [BB] director general, Lajos Bokros took part in the past years in implementing the bank consolidation program. BB received 13 billion forints [Ft] from the finance ministry headed by Ivan Szabo.

As finance minister, Bokros announced that he does not want to continue the bank consolidation program because it would take away too much from the state treasure. However, it turned out a few weeks later that he made an exception with regard to his former bank and carried out BB's consolidation through secret resolutions. In the second round, he approved Ft12 billion, supposedly to cover those loans which he himself had laid out as the financial institution's director general.

Subsequently, Bokros had stated publicly that those Ft12 billion can actually be looked at as loans, for after the bank's privatization the state will not only recover this approved sum but will also make some profit. But the question is, for how much can BB's stocks be sold? Or, can they be sold at all? Bokros claims that it is encouraging that large foreign banks are interested in the bank, but the fact that the two largest interested banks (a Swiss and a Dutch bank) abandoned their intention to buy, should not give us any false hopes.

Of course, all this happened after auditing BB. At any rate, the Ft12 billion will at least serve to save the bank from bankruptcy, and Bokros from being accountable, at least in connection with his actions, as the bank's director general.

Bokros' activity as finance minister can also give cause for calling him to account, for the bank consolidation that was carried out in secret can in no way benefit the country. The amount of state funds that have been pumped into BB exceed Ft25 billion, and the bank's

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stocks are being bought and sold on the public market at 50-60 percent of their value. The state treasury will not recover its investment even if we assume that—in some very fortunate instance—someone would pay 100 percent for BB's stocks. Of course, this is only a ballpark estimate, for, contrary to other banks' data, BB's data are unavailable.

The Financial Almanac, which is familiar to many people, lists the data of all Hungarian banks, including the given bank's subscribed capital. The only exception is BB. Even the bank's staff will refuse to provide information on these data, claiming that they are confidential figures. Interestingly, these data are not confidential when it comes to other banks.

In order to resolve the scandal concerning Agrobank, Finance Minister Bokros promised to help the bank if its private owners give up their rights. Saving Agrobank will cost the state approximately Ft10 billion. Thus, the finance minister makes Ft35 billion available to the two scandalous banks (Budapest Bank and Agrobank).

After all this, it is still uncertain whether top bank officials will continue siphoning billions more out of these banks. Could it happen that these banks will again announce their insolvency in a year?

Incidentally, the press (which is close to government circles) often handles these bank scandals discreetly and calmly. This is understandable, for banks are among the best advertisers. In Hungary, the amount of money spent on advertisement exceeded Ft43 billion last year. Almost 60 percent of the advertising fees were paid by banks!

In connection with the Ft12 billion BB action, Bokros said the following two weeks ago:

"I do not want to resign because the government supported the measures taken for the purpose of privatizing BB. At the same time, I can state that the secrecy around the Ft12 billion capital funding was not illegal. I think it is natural that I am being strongly criticized during parliament's discussion of the stabilization program, which is against many interests. But these [criticisms] prompt me not to resign but to carry out my program to the end. I continue to enjoy Gyula Horn's trust, and the mudslingers must be brought to court." There was no mention at the minister's briefing whether Bokros will be brought to court for a fictitious tax maneuver of several hundred million forints, for instance, which was reported in issue 20 of the UJ DEMOKRATA, and which is being hushed by both the administration and the unbelievably free and objective press.

Official Considers Constitutional Court's Role

AU1207160195 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Jul 95 p 9

[Interview with Constitutional Court Deputy Chairman Tamas Labady by Andras Sereg; place and date not given: "The Law Should Rule Over Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sereg] How do you evaluate the first five years of the Constitutional Court?

[Labady] I am very proud of participating in the activity of the Constitutional Court over the last five years. I might exaggerate slightly and say that everything that we have done in the past five years can be compared to St. Stephen's work. The change in the regime that took place under the supervision and control of the Constitutional Court has undoubtedly brought a revolutionary change. In Hungary's history, these last five years have been almost as important as the period of our state's foundation. Indeed, a new state was founded here from 1988 to 1989 and the political forces could have squandered this change in the regime, but the Constitutional Court played a serious role in that this did not happen.

[Sereg] What issues do you have in mind?

[Labady] Decisions on large-scale issues, such as our decision to provide compensation for the victims of the previous regime, or the decision on the statute of limitations, which outlined the constitutional framework of responsibility for the crimes of the previous regime. I also regard our decisions connected with the stabilization program as important.

[Sereg] Parliament elected the Constitutional Court for a period of nine years. What do you expect from the "second half"?

[Labady] In my opinion, the Constitutional Court might have special tasks in the future in connection with the market economy and social rights; the tasks of the state toward its citizens and the relevant constitutional issues might determine our future activity.

[Sereg] Many people claim that the decisions connected with the Bokros package affect not only the scope of the government but also that of the Constitutional Court, for example, regarding the interpretation of the right to social security.

[Labady] According to the relevant stipulations of the Constitution, the state guarantees citizens' social security. In the first five years of the Constitutional Court, the judges held a tough debate on whether we are talking here about a basic constitutional right, like the right to express opinions or the freedom of press,

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which are guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws must act in the benefit of the citizens or whether we are only talking about a declaration that embodies the state's tasks. The main difference between the two opinions is that the Constitution refers to every citizen and can be asserted, while state obligations cover the tasks to be fulfilled by the state and the citizen does not have the right to demand these obligations. The state has a much bigger scope in this.

[Sereg] According to experts, the opinions of the judges have changed since 1993, when four constitutional judges had different views on a decision connected with social security. Do you agree?

[Labady] The opinion of the Constitutional Court has changed in the sense that none of the five decisions affecting the stabilization law reflects the previous four different opinions. This time, the Constitutional Court took the unanimous position that the state has the right to take restrictive measures and no constitutional principles and opportunities contradict this, but the state can only take these measures in a constitutional way.

[Sereg] In the coming autumn, the Constitutional Court will continue to supervise the norms of the Bokros package. Have you taken into consideration a preliminary control?

[Labady] It would have been useful to ask for a preliminary control of the norms. It seems, however, that the president of the republic has weaker constitutional law experts than the press.

[Sereg] According to Peter Hack, the Constitutional Court is sticking more to its own decisions than to the letter of the Constitution.

[Labady] The Constitutional Court decides on the basis of the Constitution, but it regards itself as a precedent court of law. The reason for this is that the Constitution adopted in 1989 is rather brief. Therefore, it was the task of the Constitutional Court to interpret the Constitution and to give adequate explanation to some regulations. The Constitution itself is the basis and decisions are based on this. These decisions are obligatory for everyone.

[Sereg] They say that the Constitutional Court can only be "guided" through the Constitution. What would you say if the death penalty were restored in the Constitution?

[Labady] I would immediately resign as a member of the Constitutional Court, albeit with a heavy heart.

[Sereg] In your view, can a government have both constitutional and political considerations?

[Labady] Of course, legislation is not only a constitutional issue but also a political one. The Constitutional Court's principle of legal ruling is meant to counterbalance this. This means that the law should rule over politics, and this is the essence of a constitutional state.

Torgyan Views FKGP Policy, Coalition

AU1107144395 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Jul 95 p 9

[Interview with Jozsef Torgyan, Independent Smallholders Party chairman, by Imre Bednarik; place and date not given: "The Smallholders' Start From Another Position—Jozsef Torgyan Assesses His Party's Strength, Possible Coalition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bednarik] Mr Torgyan! You announced recently that the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP] started preparations for governing. Why this haste three years before the elections? Do you not think that the current coalition will carry out its four-year mandate?

[Torgyan] The events of recent weeks proved that this government cannot cope with its tasks. Domestically, unemployment and foreign debt are increasing constantly, and so are inflation and the society's lack of confidence. Gyula Horn's visit to the United States was a disappointment, and signing an agreement with the IMF on using standby credits seems to become increasingly remote. With the signing of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty, the ethnic Hungarians living outside our borders have become vitally threatened. All this proves that the Horn cabinet and the coalition made up of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] failed in the course of one year. Therefore, the FKGP calls upon the government to resign and demands new parliamentary elections.

[Bednarik] Do you think your words will be disregarded because, in recent months, you repeatedly called upon the government to resign, but the government is still in place?

[Torgyan] Unfortunately, it seems to me, too, that the government has not yet decided to take this step, an absolutely natural step in constitutional states. After so many mistakes, the government should do nothing but resign.

Seeking Hungarian Ways

[Bednarik] Who could replace the current government and coalition?

[Torgyan] I believe that the FKGP would take the lead. National advancement and seeking Hungarian ways

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have always been in the focus of the policy of our 100-year-old party. We achieved tremendous success at the National Assembly elections 50 years ago, and we would also have a chance of winning today.

[Bednarik] Some 25 percent of the citizens voted in favor of the FKGP at the mock elections held in Kaposvar. Would you be satisfied with a similar result at the next elections?

[Torgyan] For that, we should know the types of rules according to which the next elections will be held. It is questionable whether the current election law will stay or not. The way I see it, the MSZP-SZDSZ coalition that has lost its ground will try anything in its power to modify the election law in a way that would enable them to stay in power. I doubt, however, that modification of the election law will eventually bring the demanded results.

However, compared with our 8.5-percent results in 1994, I would regard a 25-percent result as a success in itself. I think that this 25-percent support is only the bottom pillar of the FKGP popularity. We will achieve much better results than that; at least there are real chances for this.

[Bednarik] Do you think the FKGP could share the fate of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]? The FIDESZ was well ahead on the popularity list in 1992-93, but it became the smallest parliamentary party after the elections.

[Torgyan] Well, the FIDESZ, it has 50 university teachers, and they make up the party's block of experts and almost its entire membership. As opposed to this, the FKGP has 2,000 basic organizations all over the country.

I admit that a lot depends on the objective information of the media. Because the FKGP has already been written off by the media, our results will drop almost automatically on the eve of the elections. Therefore, we must strive to achieve bigger results earlier than the results achieved in the course of the elections.

[Bednarik] What role would the FKGP give you in case your party wins the elections?

[Torgyan] This is the least exciting question. I never wanted any function all my life. It makes no difference to me whatsoever whether I am one of the rank and file or I get another task.

[Bednarik] Do you accept the political analysts' evaluation according to which the FKGP must be absolute winners to govern, because none of the parliamentary parties would form a coalition with this party?

[Torgyan] This is ridiculous. A winner always has a lot of friends, actually so many that he has trouble brushing them aside. If the FKGP takes the lead over the other parties, every political force will accept this. It is noteworthy, for example, that the politicians who are sending confrontation messages via the press would like to secretly negotiate with us. Besides, one should not start from the current parliamentary configuration when one tries to delineate the next coalition.

[Bednarik] Do you think the parliamentary parties will change after the next elections?

[Torgyan] Some of them will definitely be replaced. There are too many national-conservative and liberal forces in parliament today. The FIDESZ lives from the support of the media, and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is a party that has lost ground, one that is pushing its fallen politicians into the frontline.

[Bednarik] It transpires from your saying that the FKGP continues to regard the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] as its only natural ally.

[Torgyan] The KDNP is a force cut out of the FKGP, a body from a body, a soul from a soul. However, its situation is far from being as calming as that of the FKGP. Although the KDNP has an outstanding leading couple, namely Chairman Gyorgy Giczy and Executive Chairman Tibor Fuzessy, people who are very close to us, followers of former Chairman Laszlo Surjan continue to be in the majority in the KDNP group in Parliament. The KDNP cannot stabilize itself under such circumstances, although we provide all the help possible for this. The KDNP must very firmly distance itself from the liberal alliance that calls itself a civic alliance. This group aims at obtaining a national-conservative support by hiding behind the civic slogan and making this national-conservative bloc serve liberalism. I think the new KDNP leadership is also aware of this.

A Country Meant To Advance

[Bednarik] By declaring their National Alliance program, do the Smallholders want to offer an alternative to the Civic Alliance?

[Torgyan] The National Alliance will be an alternative to the current MSZP-SZDSZ coalition, rather than to the liberal alliance that calls itself civic alliance. It must be clear to all that only the MSZP and the FKGP have social support alone. Confidence in the Socialists is constantly diminishing, and support in the Smallholders is increasing constantly. As for the supporters of the liberal parties, the West European level of 6 percent support will also be characteristic of the Hungarian liberal parties.

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[Bednarik] Do you confirm the rumors that you expect Imre Pozsgay's National Democratic Federation [NDSZ] and the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] to join the National Alliance?

[Torgyan] Let this be our secret for the time being.

[Bednarik] The opposition repeatedly declared that your style is the only obstacle hindering cooperation.

[Torgyan] If Yehudi Menuhin appears in an orchestra of amateurs, it would disturb the tone-deaf musicians. The same applies to my untalented opponents.

[Bednarik] According to rumors, the FKGP will issue its alternative economic program at the festivities planned for this autumn to commemorate the 50th anniversary of victory achieved at the National Assembly elections in 1945. What will be the direction of this program?

[Torgyan] Economic advancement. Hungary is meant to advance, only the current leadership hinders its advancement. However, I would not like to speak about details now.

Media Over the Society?

[Bednarik] In your view, is there any institution in the Hungarian constitutional system that definitely requires modification?

[Torgyan] So far, we have not succeeded in arranging the state power branches to ensure that none of them overcomes the other. The mass media have placed themselves above society, and the Constitutional Court makes decisions that always lead to big social emotions. As an example, I would mention compensation and the so-called rejection of our referendum initiative. In view of all this, the constitutional need to resettle the issue might emerge.

[Bednarik] How?

[Torgyan] This could come to the fore in the constitutional process. If, however, this does not lead to results, the victors of the next parliamentary elections can create a constitutional state.

[Bednarik] Do you think it is necessary to eliminate the Constitutional Court?

[Torgyan] Changes should be made in the Constitutional Court's authority and its system of selecting personnel. There is no need for the Constitutional Court judges who receive 20 percent more wages than the ministers to act as a super government or a super parliament without any supervision, by placing themselves above parliament.

[Bednarik] Are you satisfied with the Constitutional Court's ruling on the Bokros-package?

[Torgyan] Its latest decision is definitely in harmony with the FKGP expectations, except for the decision on personal identity numbers. In this case, the Constitutional Court should have adjusted the legal factors to the demands of society and the economy.

Division About New Deputy Prime Minister Position

AU1307130795 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Jul 95 p 3

[Correspondent's report: "Sandor Nagy Has Not Yet Been Officially Asked for the Position"]

[FBIS Translated Text] MAGYR HIRLAP has learned that four names are under consideration for the position of economic deputy prime minister proposed by Prime Minister Gyula Horn. The possible candidates are: Sandor Nagy, parliamentary deputy of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ]; Imre Szekeres, head of the MSZP group in Parliament; Andras Inotai, director of the World Economic Research Institute; and Peter Medgyessy, president and executive director of the Hungarian Bank for Investment and Development Ltd. For the time being, however, it is not clear whether the new position will be created at all.

The position of economic deputy prime minister appears in the draft modernization program recently published by the government. Gyula Horn recently repeated his proposal: At the meeting of the MSZP parliamentary group held on 10 June, Horn said the new position could be set up by 30 September. The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] is not very enthusiastic about the prime minister's proposal and, according to our information, the MSZP is not undivided in its support either. For the time being, the Free Democrats say that they will only formulate their position once they have concrete details. According to Interior Minister and Coalition Deputy Chairman Gabor Kuncze, there is no need for this new position, and the creation of such a position requires the modification of the Constitution. Others, like Prime Ministers' Office State Secretary Elemer Kiss, do not agree with this, and say that a minister without portfolio can coordinate economic policy tasks even without the Constitution being amended. The creation of such a position and the appointment of the new government member requires coalition coordination. The SZDSZ thinks the new position is unnecessary, and fears this would weaken Finance Minister Lajos Bokros's position within the government. We learned that, by implementing his idea, Gyula Horn would like to put an end to the debates between the economic ministers of his cabinet.

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In a radio interview on 12 July, Sandor Nagy said he thinks the creation of such a position is necessary, but no one has yet contacted him on the issue. In his view, one should first outline the tasks of the new position and then find the appropriate person for these tasks. Sandor Nagy said that it was too early to say whether he would accept such a nomination, but he did not reject the possibility out of hand. His chances are limited by the fact that, if he is nominated, the junior coalition member will probably make use of its veto right.

Imre Szekeres is constantly mentioned as a possible cabinet member; earlier, he was considered a candidate for the position of industry minister. These combinations have not been justified so far. However, we know that if Bela Katona, the minister who resigned in March, were to run for the position of head of the MSZP parliamentary group, he would have the best chances of winning.

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Bildt: Situation 'Would Be Worse' Without UN

AU1307203695 Paris AFP in English 2021 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, July 13 (AFP)—European Union mediator Carl Bildt said Thursday [13 July] he was opposed to a withdrawal of UN peacekeepers from Bosnia despite the debacle over Srebrenica. "Every setback has led calls for withdrawal, but withdrawal is not a policy, it is the abandonment of policy," he told reporters here. Without a UN presence the situation would be even worse, he added.

Humanitarian aid "has to be the number one priority," he said, adding that "the situation in that respect looks less bad now than three hours ago. The same applies to cooperation with the Bosnian Government in the Tuzla area," where thousands of refugees are fleeing after the capture of Srebrenica by Bosnian Serbs on Tuesday. Many of them, having nowhere else to go, are camped out on a runway at Tuzla airport. "Ten thousand people are now there, it could well double within the next few days and that is a massive task for the UN forces and UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees)," Bildt added. "It's also a burden to the local authorities in Tuzla. Tuzla airport is not a solution, we must find other solutions."

"UNHCR did a terrific job.... It's an extremely difficult situation on the humanitarian front.... We must as soon as possible find different solutions," he said.

Bildt is the European Union mediator on former Yugoslavia working alongside United Nations representative Thorvald Stoltenberg.

Izetbegovic Briefs Iran's Velayati on Refugees

AU1307191995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has held a telephone conversation with 'Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, about the mass exodus of Bosniaks from Srebrenica.

President Izetbegovic briefed Minister Velayati on the latest developments in our country, especially the fate of the Muslim population of Srebrenica, which has been left at the mercy of the Serb aggressor and the United Nations, which was supposed to protect them.

Some 42,000 people (?exulicated) from Srebrenica by the United Nations are being added to our list of refugees, President Izetbegovic said, expressing gratitude for the moral and material help that the Islamic Republic of Iran has recently sent.

Silajdzic Accuses UN of 'Ultimate Cynicism'

AU1307210495 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2015 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo by Robert Hochner in Vienna studio; Silajdzic statements in English with simultaneous German translation—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Hochner] Mr. Prime Minister, it is quite understandable that you are disappointed now, disappointed with the United Nations and NATO. Are you in favor of the United Nations withdrawing from your country?

[Silajdzic] We shall reconsider the UN mission; but that is not the question. The question is why the United Nations should break their own law. Why did the United Nations call in NATO so late in Srebrenica? Who will be held responsible for that? Is the United Nations allowed to risk the lives of 45,000 people and nothing happens?

[Hochner] What do you know about the fate of the refugees, particularly the men, who are said to have been taken to a different camp by the Serbs?

[Silajdzic] I know that some 14,000 people are in Tuzla now. Sixty percent of them are children, 30 percent women, and 10 percent elderly people. There have been many cases of abuse and violence all the way between Srebrenica and the government-controlled territory. Young girls have disappeared. We do not know exactly what is happening. But because of this terrible mistake by the United Nations we have slaves being taken in Bosnia at the end of the 20th century. Everything we have experienced here is so cynical. The UN representatives says this is not ethnic cleansing, but these people are leaving their homes of their own accord. They are leaving Srebrenica for Tuzla. That is not ethnic cleansing, the UN representative says.

[Hochner] Mr. Prime Minister, the Serbs are threatening Zepa and Gorazde. They also want to attack these two safe areas.

[Silajdzic] I am sorry. Have you translated what I have just said? Have you translated my last sentence? The UN representative here says that what is happening to the people here is not ethnic cleansing. He says they are leaving their homes of their own free will. That is the ultimate cynicism.

[Hochner] One last question, Mr. Prime Minister: The Serbs have announced that they also want to attack the Zepa and Gorazde safe areas. Do you have any hope that the United Nations and NATO will at least intervene in time there?

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[Silajdzic] They are now attacking Zepa and Gorazde, Bihac will come later. The United Nations does nothing but issue another resolution. The main thing is that there is a procedure, the main thing is that the conflict, as they call it, is kept within Bosnia. As long as the international community only wants to restrict the problem to Bosnia, there can be no solution. As long as the United Nations acts like the Red Cross, and not in line with the UN Charter, as long as they choose to remain neutral, as they call it, neutral between those who commit the genocide and the victims, there is no hope. But we will continue to resist. We have a right to resist.

[Hochner] EU mediator Stoltenberg said in Vienna today that the negotiations must continue. Is there anything left to negotiate with the Serbs?

[Silajdzic] The international community presented a peace plan last year. They said this is the plan that you have to accept unconditionally. They said those who will not accept the plan will be punished. That means, if the Bosnian Serbs do not accept the plan, the sanctions on Serbia will be intensified. Now the Bosnian Serbs have rejected the plan, and the sanctions against Serbia have been suspended, although not lifted. What more shall I tell you? What do you expect? What can Mr. Bildt do that the Contact Group, the five countries, have not done?

[Hochner] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

Blames UN, Seeks Islamic Aid

NC1307200795 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Arabic 1730 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Telephone interview with Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Sarajevo, by an unidentified Tehran radio correspondent, in Tehran, carried on the "News and Reports" program; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, do you want to make a statement on the regrettable occasion of Srebrenica falling into the hands of the Serbian militia? What effect has the city's fall had on the Bosnian Government?

[Silajdzic] The United Nations and its representatives were slow to request NATO military intervention. NATO planes arrived late, because the UN request was late. We consider this tardiness unjustified because we issued warnings to the United Nations repeatedly. We issued one a month before the city's fall, one 14 days before the Serbian attack, and finally five days before the attack. We hold [UN envoy] Yasushi Akashi responsible for this failure. Of course, the UN headquarters in New York is also responsible. The UN has clearly betrayed an area that it declared a demilitarized safe haven. The betrayal is clear. The United Nations allowed the Serbs to occupy Srebrenica. NATO carried out air strikes but they came too late. We now direct our attention to Zepa, a small town that is also a weapons-free safe haven. Thousands of Bosnian strugglers are going to face Serbian attacks just as they have in the past two days.

[Correspondent] Prime Minister, regrettably, about a month ago, Yasushi Akashi said he was going to withdraw from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Is Srebrenica's fall connected to that announcement? What do you want to tell the world, particularly the Islamic world and Iran, on this occasion?

[Silajdzic] We do not concern ourselves much with what Yasushi Akashi says. He is only a tool in the hands of some people. I want to tell the Islamic countries that Bosnia-Herzegovina needs assistance now. We hope that these countries will help the Bosnian Government so that we can continue our jihad and continue liberating Bosnian territories. To the noble Iranian Government and people, your humanitarian aid is reaching us. Thank you on behalf of the Bosnian people.

[Correspondent] We thank you too. We wish the Bosnian people success in their struggle until they achieve final victory. Thank you very much.

[Silajdzic] You are welcome.

Demands UN Protect Zepa

AU1307191395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Report on news conference by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Mladen Bosnjak in Sarajevo on 13 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bosnjak] The first part of Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic's news conference was actually a summary of the discussion and conclusions from today's extraordinary session of the government, at which the government discussed the current situation regarding help for the population of Srebrenica, which is a UN protected area on paper.

[Silajdzic] In this regard, the government concluded that between 4,000 and 5,000 refugees had been evacuated from Srebrenica yesterday, and that, unfortunately, another (?40,000) expelled people are expected to arrive in the Tuzla area. Regarding the composition of the refugees, children constitute the majority. I think that they make up some 60 percent, women 30 percent, and the elderly 10 percent.

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Men of military age have so far not been allowed out. There are also reports that people are being picked out and that a certain number of young women are being held. We hear that this is even happening on the trucks, as people are setting off. Young women are being taken off [word indistinct] from buses and trucks.

Therefore, in connection with this, the government has concluded the following: First, we demand that the United Nations urgently open Tuzla airport for the delivery of tents, blankets, food, and medical kits for the needs of the (?refugees). In fact, I have been at a meeting with General Smith. He told me that he will do his best to increase the number of helicopters. The opening of the airport is, of course, a different matter.

Number two, the government will secure the maximum possible financial help for accommodating the refugees and this help will be sent (?urgently). Help has already been sent. We will propose to Mrs. Sadako Ogata to come to Tuzla and to see it for herself that this is a real humanitarian [word indistinct].

The government demands that members of the UN forces and medical teams be immediately sent to Srebrenica to (?offer assistance) to the population.

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is being asked to monitor the road from Srebrenica used by the expelled people and to escort the refugee convoys. Not all the buses and trucks are being escorted. This is why we have had people taken off the buses and trucks and disappearing. UNPROFOR must make sure that all residents transported by the Serb terrorists in buses and trucks from Srebrenica are registered.

Moreover, the Ministry of Health will provide private stations for medical care in Kladanj.

Number seven, the Government demands that the United Nations put a stop to the arrests and elderly people and other residents of Srebrenica being taken away by [word indistinct] terrorists.

The government demands that the United Nations see to it that residents already arrested by Serb terrorists be treated in the same way as arrested UNPROFOR soldiers, that the same attention be paid to them as to the hostages, for whose release the United Nations is responsible.

Furthermore, the government will be asking friendly countries and their governments for urgent material help, primarily for caring for the refugees. The government has concluded that the Ministry for Health and Social (?Care) has undertaken the appropriate measures and that food and clothes convoys have already been sent for the refugees.

We are especially grateful to the Government of the Republic of Italy, (Coperatione Italiana), who have responded to our call, and were the first to send convoys with food and clothes for Srebrenica refugees.

Furthermore, the government is reviewing in particular the reports on the developments in the protected area of Zepa. The view is that the Chetnik terrorists are trying to bring about the same scenario as that of Srebrenica. Zepa is coming under constant attacks by heavy artillery, tanks, and infantry. Owing to the total blockade, the humanitarian situation is very critical.

The government demands that the United Nations urgently take all measures to protect the security zone of Zepa, and all the other protected areas, as a priority, and to stop further attacks by Serb terrorists. Today, we especially insisted on [words indistinct] with General Smith to arrange the dispatch of additional UNPROFOR forces capable of guaranteeing the security of Zepa, which is now a priority, and other areas [words indistinct] and population. [passage omitted]

[Bosnjak] Asked what he thought about French President Chirac's view on the necessity of military action by the international community to reinstate the previous situation in the protected area of Srebrenica, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said:

[Silajdzic] I think that President Chirac is right. I think that Europe should finally show, that someone must show, leadership [words indistinct], which has unfortunately been lacking. Those who doubt President Chirac's seriousness should test him by joining him and not criticizing him and saying that this was not serious. [passage omitted]

Government Holds Emergency Session on Refugees

AU1307145495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Report by Mladen Bosnjak]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In light of the dramatic situation concerning the refugees from Srebrenica, the Government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina have today held an extraordinary session. The session was chaired by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. Mladen Bosnjak has the details:

[Bosnjak] At the very beginning of this short, operative session, Mr. Silajdzic briefed ministers and deputies or assistants of the absent members of the government on the content of two important messages that had just arrived.

The first, which was sent by Izet Hadzic, head of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, asks for any kind help from

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the republican government and the financial support of 400,000 German marks, as the cantonal government takes the view that in addition to the (?4,000-5,000) people already evacuated from Srebrenica, the authorities will need to provide care for another 40,000 people.

The second message came from Muharem Cero, minister for refugees, who is on the ground. The message made several proposals in the same direction. After a brief discussion, many of these proposals were formulated as government conclusions. [passage omitted]

The government decided to send a letter to Sadako Ogata [UNHCR high commissioner] inviting her to visit Tuzla and ask for the urgent dispatch of UN members to the protected area of Srebrenica to protect the civilians, and the dispatch of medical teams and the provision of food, medicine, and accommodation. The government also calls for the protection of the Srebrenica-Kladanj road and the (?refugee) center in Kladanj [words indistinct] shelling. This road should be placed under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] supervision. UNPROFOR (?should) escort all the convoys of refugees from Srebrenica. A private medical center should be opened in Kladanj to treat the Srebrenica refugees. [passage omitted]

SDA Urges UN To Act Against Serb 'Genocide'

AU1307161095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Report on the SDA news conference by Mevlida Stojanovic in Zenica on 13 July]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The fascism that has taken deep root, and which the international players either do not want to or cannot resist, is taking its toll through the unprecedented genocide of the people from Srebrenica. Those who have promised that they would defend the protect area of Srebrenica are not doing anything. The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] therefore protests most sharply and expects UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, the mechanism that he heads, and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] units, to take efficient measures to stop what is happening to the people of Srebrenica. This was stated today by SDA Secretary General Mirsad Ceman. We are sure that the refugees from Srebrenica will be warmly received in the areas that accept them. We will be satisfied when the protected area of Srebrenica is again established, Ceman said.

The SDA has launched an initiative concerning (?compensation) to the fighters of Bosnia-Herzegovina and members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Government of the Republic and the Federation is obliged to solve this problem institutionally. [passage omitted]

SGV Offers To Participate in Peace Process

AU1307201195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Correspondent's report from Strasbourg]

[FBIS Translated Text] A delegation of the Serbian Civic Council [SGV], which has been attending the session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg over the past few days, this morning held a meeting with Hans van den Broek, EU commissioner for foreign affairs.

A very long meeting focused on the situation in Srebrenica, activities concerning the Contact Group's plan, and the possible participation of the SGV as an equal partner in the quest for a peaceful solution.

The SGV delegation presented to Mr. van den Broek a request to demand in the form of an ultimatum the cessation of all military activities in the protected area of Srebrenica. Mr. van den Broek expressed his great concern for the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and especially his concern for the fate of the Netherlands soldiers in Srebrenica.

Mr. van den Broek also said that next Monday an EU ministerial meeting would be analyzing the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and would be paying special attention to the situation in Srebrenica, and that he will support the initiative of this Council to participate directly in the search for the [word indistinct] solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that he will present this initiative to Carl Bildt.

Seven More Dutch Peacekeepers in Serb Hands

AU1407075095 Paris AFP in English 2313 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 13 (AFP)—Seven more Dutch peacekeepers were captured by the Bosnian Serbs in Srebrenica Thursday [13 July] after giving up their second-last observation post in the enclave, the Defence Ministry said here. A total of 55 Dutch UN troops are now in the hands of the Serbs who captured the enclave Tuesday and immediately began expelling its thousands of Moslem inhabitants.

The Defence Ministry's crisis centre said the seven peacekeepers were occupying the observation post named Charlie, and had been prevented from leaving ahead of the Serb advance by Bosnian government troops. Following their surrender they were taken away in the direction of Milici in the west of the enclave, leaving only one observation post, Alpha, still in UN hands, the Ministry said. Most of the other Dutch peacekeepers were detained by the Serbs at Bratunac

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to the east after the Serbs stormed the enclave, which was designated a safe area by the United Nations.

Earlier Defence Minister Joris Voorhoeve said the Dutch were coming under great pressure from the Serbs to leave their base at Potocari with the Moslem refugees being expelled. He told a press conference that the troops, while short of food and medical supplies, "have refused to leave their camp before the last refugee has left and their 48 comrades being held prisoner are freed."

Voorhoeve said that the head of the Dutch battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel Ton Karremans, had been negotiating for two days with the Serb military commander General Ratko Mladic. Karremans was demanding that the Dutch be allowed to leave, when he decided it, in safety and with their weapons. "Colonel Karremans has decided to stay until the departure of the last refugee," the defence minister added. "He has made the choice of the captain of a sinking ship." Voorhoeve said the first priority was the safety of the refugees and the transport of the sick and wounded. He added that the Netherlands had decided to make emergency aid of some 13 million dollars available to help the refugees.

Meanwhile Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van Mierlo took umbrage at a reported suggestion by his French opposite number Herve de Charette that the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) could have done more to prevent the capture of Srebrenica. "Srebrenica fell without any sign of defence from Bosnian troops—which leads to quite a few questions—or of any real reaction from UNPROFOR," de Charette told French state television. He said that if UN peacekeepers could neither guarantee aid supplies nor the safety of civilians, they "become finally the accomplices to what we have always refused."

Van Mierlo said he had asked for an explanation of de Charette's statement from French ambassador Daniel Bernard. "These remarks are so serious and go so far that until further notice I would like to believe that Mr. de Charette did not make them." Van Mierlo said he agreed that the Bosnian Government troops were found wanting, but that the Dutch had been praised from everywhere. "What they did there was unique and dangerous."

The Dutch foreign minister also dubbed unrealistic French calls for Srebrenica to be recaptured by UNPROFOR, saying they risked jeopardising efforts to secure the release of the Dutch peacekeepers from Serb hands.

Claim To Be Treated 'Well'

AU1407103895 Korenica Srpski Radio Korenica in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Colonel (Berte Rave), UN Dutch Battalion liaison officer, stated for SRNA that the evacuation of Muslim civilians in the Potocari reception center proceeded as planned and that Serb soldiers treated them in keeping with the provisions of international humanitarian law. There were organized Muslim formations in Srebrenica and their movement was restricted in most cases, stated Col. (Rave) and pointed out that all soldiers of the Dutch Battalion who went to Bratunac after their fellow soldier was killed are now in Potocari and Srebrenica. The Serb Army treated us well and the Dutch soldiers were treated very well in Bratunac, (Rave) confirmed, and he emphasized that the Dutch and Serb soldiers did their best to complete the evacuation as soon as possible. Yesterday afternoon, a convoy transporting food for the members of the Dutch Battalion reached Potocari.

UN Spokesman: No Plans To Protect Enclaves

AU1307152595 Paris AFP in English 1512 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 13 (AFP)—A UN spokesman in Zagreb described Thursday [13 July] the reestablishment of a safe area in Srebrenica as "unrealistic," despite a call by the UN Security Council urging Srebrenica be returned to UN protection. "The calls for a reestablishment of the safe area of Srebrenica are unrealistic and something that is impossible to achieve," said Colum Murphy, a spokesman for Yasushi Akashi, the UN special envoy in the former Yugoslavia. "What the Security Council presented last night in order to restore the safe area is in my opinion a nonstarter," he said.

Commenting on the failure of Dutch peacekeepers and NATO airstrikes to protect the UN-declared safe zone on Tuesday, another UN official said: "I am ashamed." The spokesman conceded no plans existed for the protection of other enclaves and said that the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina overall depended on the political will of the countries supplying troops to the conflict zone.

In Tomislavgrad, southern Bosnia-Hercegovina, the French General Andre Soudirou, commander of the multinational brigade, said Thursday the Rapid Reaction Force was not yet operational and an assault on Srebrenica was momentarily out of the question.

A UN spokesman in Zagreb described himself as extremely preoccupied by the fate of Zepa, which is

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defended by 70 lightly armed Ukrainian soldiers. The mainly Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia was being shelled, according to UN spokesmen in Sarajevo.

UN spokesman Christopher Gunness said there were no immediate plans to send reinforcements to defend Zepa, which measures about 60 square kilometres (40 square miles). In Srebrenica, 48 hours after the town was taken by Serb forces, the United Nations feared a large scale humanitarian crisis. Food was running low and the refugees not already expelled or otherwise taken away by the Bosnian Serbs had little water or food, said Gunness.

Women and children had been split from the men and thousands of men of draft age had been led away by the Serb army, said Gunness. "The UN is extremely concerned about the well-being and security of these people," said Gunness.

Asked about atrocities, Gunness declared: "We saw pictures of houses burning and it's perfectly possible that women and children may have burned to death."

Zepa Official Urges RRF Deployment

AU1307165795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Interview with Bekim Heljic, president of the Sarajevo-based Association of Residents of the Zepa Municipality and member of the Zepa Municipality Working Presidium, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent] Zepa is a heroic town. Could Zepa experience Srebrenica's fate?

[Heljic] Well, it is very difficult to talk about whether someone can experience that fate. Unfortunately, the rule of force reigns today. Considering that Zepa is surrounded and that waging a war means loss of life and [words indistinct] and since this is a closed community area, this means that the population [words indistinct]. I am convinced of one thing: That Zepa is suffering in the military sense as it has been up to now. We do not have any other choice. People there live on their own territory. They are defending themselves and they will not take anyone's land or attack anybody in his own house. I am sure that in the last three and half years of war, these people have realized that their only guarantor of survival is the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Correspondent] Finally, if you were to send a one-sentence message to the residents of Zepa on what to do, what would you say.

[Heljic] They should be united, they should listen to the recommendations of the state leadership, ranging from President Izetbegovic, Prime Minister Silajdzic, to Commander Delic. I am convinced that a request has been made and sent out today diplomatically to (?arrange) the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] in all the protected areas, including Zepa. This is what the diplomats ought to do. The nations in the UN organization should fulfill their obligation to them. I am convinced that with their heroic resistance, their heroic fight will manage to carry out their part of the work, as they have proved so far.

UN Protection Zones Under Serb Attack

Karadzic's Serbs Shell Gorazde

AU1307191495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to the information of the Ministry of Health of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 10 civilians had been wounded in Sarajevo by 1830 [1630 GMT]. Among them was one child, 14-year-old Almir Kozica.

This afternoon, Karadzic's Chetniks started a fierce artillery attack on the civilian targets in the free territory of the Gorazde region. Muhamed Hadziahic reports that the Chetniks are using mortars, antiaircraft weapons, and small arms on the city center and the town's outskirts of Obarak, Lojze, and Radici. The consequence of the enemy attack is one dead and four wounded civilians. [passage omitted]

More on Gorazde Attack

AU1407112395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 14 Jul 95

[Report by Muhamed Hadziahic from Gorazde]

[FBIS Translated Text] The town of Gorazde in the Gorazde safe haven is constantly under fire from Karadzic's terrorists. A tank from Gradina and a howitzer from the direction of Ustikolina are attacking the town center as well as (?Bacici). Lozje is under powerful mortar fire from the Chetniks from Kopaci.

In the direction of Foca, the aggressor is attacking intensely the area of Posveta, Lijepa Glava, Borovac, and [word indistinct] with howitzers, mortars, and antiaircraft guns. Obarak and Borovi are being pounded by rifle grenades and antiaircraft machineguns from Jelacka Kosa, while death sowers [M-84 machine guns] are fiercely attacking Vidkovici, Mravici, and the Gorazde-Mravinjak road.

The Rogatica Chetniks from Zabrdje are firing at Orlijak with 82-mm mortars and from [word indistinct] at

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Prosjek from antiaircraft machineguns. The attacks with M-84 machine guns from Radakovac at (?Dacevi), on the free Pale territory, have intensified. According to the information of the Gorazde military hospital, one civilian was killed and six injured in Gorazde in the last 24 hours.

Attacks Near Velika Kladusa

AU1407103095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 14 Jul 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The united aggressors, Martic's Chetniks, and phalanxes of Fikret Abdic are carrying out momentous attacks on the defense positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps on the territory of the Velika Kladusa municipality.

Fierce tank artillery and infantry fighting is under way along almost the entire front line from Jehovica to Vrnograc. Our soldiers [word indistinct] are responding momentously and effectively, inflicting enormous losses upon the enemy and would not allow (?any significant change) of the defense lines.

On the newly liberated territories toward Bosanski Novi, Ivanjska, and Dvor Na Uni, the soldiers of the 5th Corps are holding onto their positions firmly. All previous attacks by the aggressor's Army have been successfully routed.

In other parts of the front, in Bosanska Krupa, on Mt. Grmec, Mt. Pljesivica, and around Bihac, we registered sporadic provocations from all types of arms.

Muslims Offer Counterattacks

AU1307194095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 12 July carries in its regular 35-minute newscast a series of reports updating the combat situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Citing a SRNA report, the studio announcer says that "yesterday's Muslim [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] artillery attacks on Serb positions and civilian targets on the northern and north-western part of the Sarajevo front stopped this morning around 0600 hours and all the defense lines of Serb Sarajevo remain stable." The report also says that "civilian targets in Vogosca and nearby areas, as well as the Serb municipalities of Centar and Stari Grad, came under the heaviest artillery fire. Those attacks inflicted immense material damage, but there were no casualties. Muslim troops are today directing heavy fire from snipers and heavy machine guns at the road between Vogosca and Pale."

The announcer goes on to say that "overnight, the Muslims from the so-called protected zone of Bihac continued to attack along the front lines focusing on the wider Krupa na Uni [Bosanska Krupa] area. The town itself is coming under heavy fire and the population remains in shelters."

The studio announcer then quotes the Bosnian Serb military that "overnight and this morning, only the usual artillery and small arms harassments were reported on the Srbobran [Donji Vakuf] and Majevica fronts."

Describing the situation on the Ozren-Vozuca front, correspondent Ozren Jorganovic says that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army "resumed heavy artillery fire from the direction of Zavidovici targeting the south-eastern part of Ozren" and that "on the eastern part of Ozren," they continued to direct "small arms and artillery fire at the Serb villages of Milino Selo and Lozna. Apart from material damage, there were no other consequences."

Reporting from the Bosansko Grahovo-Glamoc front, correspondent Milka Tosic says that "units from Split, Sinj, and Zagreb have been here for a while and the notorious 4th Guards Brigade which took part in Operation Lightning in western Slavonia and the 111th HVO [Croatian Defense Council] Zepa Brigade came in as reinforcements." Her report also says that "although more than 1,000 shells shower the positions of our soldiers every day, Serb soldiers are resisting these attacks." She also says that "the inhabitants of Glamoc and nearby villages are living in cellars" and that constant shelling is making the harvest virtually impossible.

Evacuation of Srebrenica Refugees Continues

UNHCR: 'Ethnic Cleansing' Under Way

AU1307145595 Paris AFP in English 1435 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 13 (AFP)—Thousands of terrified mainly Moslem refugees were shipped out of the Srebrenica enclave Thursday [13 July] by conquering Bosnian Serbs soldiers in what the UNHCR is calling ethnic cleansing. At least one hundred Serb trucks and buses arrived in the north of the fallen UN safe area Thursday, where around 30,000 civilians sought safety after fleeing Serb troops who blasted their way into the enclave on Tuesday.

At least 10,000 had been expelled from the enclave, including wounded, and more were being loaded onto the Serb vehicles, UN officials said. About 20,000 remained. "This shows the Serbs mean business. They

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are not hanging about," said Lieutenant Colonel Gary Coward, a UN spokesman who said the expulsion would probably be finished by Friday. [passage omitted]

By midnight Wednesday, the Serbs had moved 4,000 refugees out of the enclave and the operation continued, UN officials said, adding that everyone in the enclave would be out by the end of Friday. [passage omitted]

At Tuzla, the refugees are mainly women and children who make up one-third of those from Srebrenica.

In another example of the brutal treatment handed out by the Bosnian Serbs, a group of 33 severely wounded from Srebrenica were forced to spend a night in the open after they failed to reach government-held territory. Attempting to return to the relative safety of the Potocari UN camp in the north of enclave, Serb soldiers stopped them at a checkpoint. [passage omitted]

The expulsions fly in the face of a UN Security Council demand that the UN safe area of Srebrenica be restored and also public statements from the Bosnian Serb leadership that they would treat all civilians wishing to leave "according to the Geneva convention". [passage omitted]

Need for Food 'Urgent'

BR1307140395 Paris LIBERATION in French 13 Jul 95 pp 7-8

[Interview with Kris Janowski, UNHCR spokesman in Sarajevo, by Philippe Deprez in Sarajevo; date not given: "An Urgent Need for Food"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo—While the Bosnian Serbs began to evacuate the Muslims from Srebrenica by force, Kris Janowski, UNHCR spokesman in Sarajevo, agreed to answer questions put to him by LIBERATION. During the day, the UNHCR had been involved in the negotiations on the "entirely safe" evacuation of the civilians from the enclave which fell into Serbian hands the day before yesterday.

[Deprez] According to UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] information, something like 1,500 civilians from Srebrenica have been loaded onto between 30 and 40 trucks by the Bosnian Serbs with a view to send them in territory under the control of the Bosnian authorities. Is this correct?

[Janowski] Indeed, I received this information from UNPROFOR, and I have nothing to add to it, except to say that this has nothing to do with an evacuation. This is "ethnic cleansing," pure and simple. And it goes without saying that the UNHCR has nothing to do with this kind of initiative.

[Deprez] How many people took refuge with the Netherlands Blue Helmets in the town of Potocari which has been surrounded by Serbian forces?

[Janowski] At present there are nearly 30,000 people in and around the Netherlands base. One of our convoys—comprising two trucks containing food rations, one truck containing blankets and plastic bags, and another truck containing gasoline canisters and mattresses, and finally one truck filled with protein-rich biscuits—left Belgrade for Potocari at 1400 [1200 GMT] yesterday. This convoy is currently blocked at Zvornik, and we do not know whether we will receive the necessary authorizations to cross the border and head for Srebrenica. Doctors Without Borders is also trying to send a convoy of medical aid and a team of five doctors. The Committee of the Red Cross is attempting to send some aid as well.

[Deprez] This is all for the short term. What do you think you can do in the medium and long term?

[Janowski] It goes without saying that we have no idea what will happen. Everything depends on the political decisions made.

[Deprez] For how long can the Netherlands Blue Helmets feed these people?

[Janowski] Probably until Thursday morning [13 July]. They will then run out of food rations, which they are currently sharing with the population. That is why it is urgent that food be sent to them.

[Deprez] How about water?

[Janowski] This is not a problem for the time being, since the Netherlanders are equipped to purify the water from the river.

[Deprez] Are any members of the UNHCR present in the enclave of Srebrenica?

[Janowski] We actually only have one person working for us there. We intend to send two more, one from Belgrade, and another maybe from Zagreb.

[Deprez] Are you in contact with your representative in the area of Srebrenica?

[Janowski] Yes, we are in radio contact.

[Deprez] How did he describe the fall of the town?

[Janowski] He leaped into a car and fled, like everyone else. There was no massacre in Srebrenica because the population had left the town before the Serbs invaded it.

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Serbs Holding Male Prisoners

AU1307195295 Paris AFP in English 1926 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 13 (AFP)—Just a few hundred Moslems remained in Srebrenica late Thursday [13 July] after conquering Bosnian Serb soldiers trucked thousands away, and refusing to allow draft age to accompany their families. At least one hundred Serb trucks and buses were used for the wholesale shipment of the enclave's population out of the pocket personally organised by the Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladic.

But draft age men were not expelled from Srebrenica, but taken to a Bosnian Serb-held town where they were seen herded into a football ground, according to members of a UN convoy. Bosnian Serb authorities have said fighting age men from the enclave were to "be screened for war crimes."

The Sarajevo government also accused Serb forces of holding "young girls" from the enclave.

In Geneva, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, called the wholesale removal of Srebrenica residents "one of the most blatant examples of ethnically motivated forced displacement we have seen yet in war. It is inconceivable to me that the Bosnian Serbs can inflict such hardship on the people of Srebrenica, people who have already endured years of war and suffering," said Ogata in a statement.

Most of the refugees who reached Bosnian Government territory were taken from the area around a UN base in the north of the enclave, where an estimated 30,000 people massed after fleeing Serb troops blasted their way into Srebrenica on Tuesday.

UN officials said Dutch peacekeepers at the Potocari UN compound reported just 2,500 people remained in the camp. Men, women, and children were taken away throughout the day though UNHCR officials could only account for some 14,000 to 16,000 who have arrived in Tuzla, in northeastern Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Other refugees were assumed to be on the road between Srebrenica and the frontline crossing point near the government town of Kladanj, 50 kilometers west of the fallen enclave. The refugees must walk for 2.5 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) to reach safety after the Serbs drop them off.

At 6:30 p.m. (1630 GMT) a six-truck UNHCR convoy arrived at Potocari with water, food, and news of the missing men. Members of the convoy team reported seeing a number of buses full of men outside the UN camp. On their way to Srebrenica the convoy passed through the Serb held town of Bratunac where it is feared many draft-age men are being held by the Serbs.

Several hundred were seen in a football ground in the town, according to UNHCR people on the convoy.

The International Red Cross which has an office in the Bosnian Serb mountain stronghold of Pale near Sarajevo were trying "to gain access to the men," a delegate said. [passage omitted]

Women Bear 'Signs of Abuse'

AU1407120295 Paris AFP in English 1128 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, July 14 (AFP)—Moslem women flocking to the UN base at Potocari near the fallen eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica appear to have been physically abused, an aid agency told AFP Friday. Medecins sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders) said that the women, fleeing the Serb advance into the former UN safe haven Tuesday, bore "clear signs of physical abuse" on arrival at the Dutch-manned base to the north of Srebrenica.

The three-year Bosnian war has been characterised, among other things, by reports of the systematic rape and abuse of Moslem women at the hands of marauding Serb soldiers.

Around 300 refugees, including 60 injured, remain at the Potocari base along with UN peacekeepers and two members of an MSF team. Around 700 others are at Serb-held Bratunac east of Srebrenica, MSF said. Their fate remains unknown.

The humanitarian aid agency also said 33 injured Moslem refugees were to have left a stadium at Bratunac, which no observers have been allowed to enter. Their fate also remains unclear.

Bosnian Serbs said earlier Friday all Moslems had been trucked out of the area and across the lines of separation into government-held territory.

Serbs Halt Aid Convoy

AU1407095295 Paris AFP in English 0926 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mali Zvornik, Yugoslavia, July 14 (AFP)—A convoy bringing humanitarian aid to Bosnian refugees was forced Friday to return to Belgrade after Bosnian Serbs would not allow it across Serb-held territory, the organisation Medicins sans Frontieres [MSF] (Doctors Without Borders) said.

The convoy, which was bringing much-needed supplies to refugees from the former Srebrenica enclave, had

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been stuck for two days here on the border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and rump Yugoslavia and failed ultimately to gain authorisation from the Bosnian Serbs to enter the country, an MSF official told AFP.

The six trucks and three all-surface vehicles which made up the convoy finally set off Friday morning back to the Serbian capital, from where it headed out Wednesday, the official said.

Bosnian forces overran Srebrenica Tuesday sending thousands of refugees fleeing and expelling thousands more west to Bosnian-held Tuzla.

A convoy of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) distributed 20,000 rations and 15,000 litres of drinking water in the Srebrenica region Thursday evening. But six UNHCR observers who were to supervise the delivery of these supplies had been waiting for 24 hours at the border for authorisation to enter Serb-held Bosnia.

Refugee Protests Prevent Aid

BR1407113395 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Jul 95 p A12

[Report by Ulrika By: "UN-Swedes Stopped: Bosnian Refugees Lock Battalion in Tuzla"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Swedish UN battalion in Tuzla was almost completely immobilized by Bosnian refugees yesterday. Later in the evening, a fuel convoy was also stopped, and 23 Swedish UN soldiers were detained under threat of retaliation for the United Nations' failure to stop the Bosnian Serb entry into Srebrenica.

"It is unacceptable and very irritating that we cannot carry out our assignment. It is my opinion that the refugee demonstration was very well organized, and that the Bosnian authorities were behind the action," said Thomas Harstedt, chief of staff of NORDBAT [Nordic Battalion].

The Bosnian refugees blocked all the entrances and exits to the Battalion's headquarters yesterday. Bosnian civil and military police were visible both there and at the place twenty kilometers north of Tuzla where the fuel convoy was stopped.

Difficult To Help

"But they do not intervene, which indicates that there is consent by the Bosnian Government. The only effect this has, is that we are unable to do what we can to help the refugees who are on the way to Tuzla," Thomas Harstedt said.

NORDBAT has resources in the form of vehicles, tents, and the ability to help by distributing food to the refugees. But in Thomas Harstedt's opinion, they can do nothing in the present situation.

The overwhelming majority of the refugees in Tuzla yesterday seemed to come from a refugee camp near the town. Thomas Harstedt has not yet seen a desperate, new stream of refugees from the Srebrenica enclave.

Refugees on the Way

"According to reports we have just received, there will probably be refugees on the way during the night. People have been dropped off twenty kilometers southwest of Tuzla near a town called Kladanjc, where they had been driven from Srebrenica.

According to the UNHCR's [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] latest reports, 3.7 million people in former Yugoslavia are completely dependent on outside help for subsistence. There are already 500,000 refugees and forcibly displaced persons in eastern Bosnia today.

Armored Vehicles

"But it seems paradoxical today. Sitting outside here are Bosnian refugees eating the food which the UN refugee organization UNHCR gave them. At the same time, they are preventing us from getting out and helping," Thomas Harstedt said.

No purely military movements have been observed in Tuzla. But restrictions have been imposed on transport resources. The few vehicles moving are armored, and all assignments are carried out by at least two vehicles together.

10,000 Refugees Arrive in Kladanj

LD1307210295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have just received the latest on the number of refugees arriving in Kladanj. Enes Osmancevic has the report.

[Osmancevic] Nearly 10,000 refugees from Srebrenica and Potocari have arrived in Kladanj. They are mostly women, children, and the elderly. Of this number, more than 6,000 have arrived at Dubrave airport [Tuzla], the rest are waiting to be accommodated. These figures have been provided by the crisis headquarters for the accommodation of refugees. [passage omitted]

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6,000 Wait To Reach Tuzla

LD1407080695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday 1,200 refugees reached Tuzla, mainly women, children, and old people, who left Srebrenica at 1100.

A further 6,000 refugees are waiting in Kladanj, where the wounded are being separated and taken to hospital. Eighty eight wounded have been taken to the (?Norwegian) hospital in Tuzla. Some refugees succumbed on the journey. The youngest refugee is only 4 days old. Karadzic's Serbs took the exhausted and hungry people to the line of separation in the hills around Kladanj from where they walked for two hours to the reception center.

Refugees Mass in Tuzla

AU1407093095 Paris AFP in English 0906 GMT 14 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 14 (AFP)—Thousands of Moslem refugees expelled from the fallen Srebrenica enclave are now massing at an air base, creating a humanitarian emergency as questions remain over the fate of the Dutch peacekeepers still in the enclave. Just a few hundred Moslems are left in the north of the Srebrenica enclave after conquering Bosnian Serb soldiers trucked thousands away from the former UN safe area in what was described as the worst case of ethnic cleansing in three years of war.

Reports from the Tuzla air base where most of the refugees have ended up are dire. There is little sanitation and aid agenices are rushing erect a tent city and provide sanitation facilities. Many of the estimated 16,000 spent the night in the open and UN officials report that five of the approximately 87 wounded transported to Tuzla died during the night.

The commanding officer of the Dutch peacekeepers who were deployed in the safe area, Lieutenant Colonel Ton Karremans, negotiated Thursday with the Bosnian Serb army commander General Ratko Mladic for the release of some 55 Dutch soldiers detained in various locations UN officials said.

Karremans has said he will not leave until the men are returned with their equipment, UN spokesman Rida Ettashany said. Thirty-eight men are held at the nearby Serb town of Bratunac, another 10 in a police station south of Srebrenica town, and seven are in Milici, west of the former enclave the spokesman said.

At least 100 Serb trucks and buses were used for the wholesale shipment of the enclave's population out of the pocket personnaly organised by the Mladic. Most were taken away from the area around a UN base in the north of the enclave where an estimated 30,000 people had massed after fleeing Serb troops who blasted their way into the enclave on Tuesday.

UN officials said Dutch peacekeepers at the Potocari UN compound reported around 2,500 people remained in the vicinity of the camp. Men, women and children were taken away throughout the day though UNHCR officials could only account for some 14-16,000 who have arrived at a UN administered air base in Tuzla northeastern Bosnia.

Others were assumed to be on the road somewhere between Srebrenica and the frontline crossing point near the government town of Kladanj, 50 kilometers (31 miles) west of the fallen enclave. The refugees must walk for 2.5 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) to reach safety from where they are dropped by the Serbs.

However, UN Military Observers reported there were few draft age men arriving in government-held territory, Ettarshany said. This lends weight to the reports that fighting age men have been filtered out and held by the Bosnian Serbs and corroborates other reports from international staff of an aid convoy that arrived in the enclave late on Thursday.

A six-truck UNHCR convoy arrived at the Potocari UN camp carrying water and food, too late for most of those in need. However, members of the convoy team reported seeing a number of buses full of men outside the UN camp. On their way to Srebrenica the convoy passed through the Serb held town of Bratunac where it is feared many draft age men are being held by the Serbs. Convoy members apparently saw several hundred men in a football ground in the town. The Bosnian Serb authorities have said fighting age men from the enclave were to "be screened for war crimes."

Elsewhere in Bosnia, UN officials reported that Bosnian Army soldiers tried to grab back weapons under UN control in the eastern enclave of Gorazde. Major Guy Vinet, a UN spokesman, said the soldiers were prevented from doing so by Ukrainian peacekeepers in the enclave. Fears have been growing in Gorazde and another eastern enclave, Zepa near Srebrenica, that the Bosnian Serbs will try to snuff out these two locations. The area has been tense since the Serbs started their asault on Srebrenica just over a week ago.

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19,700 at Air Base

AU1407112595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A mass exodus of the Bosniaks from Srebrenica continued throughout the day yesterday. The total number of exiled persons from Srebrenica who have reached the UN Protection Force base in Dubrave airport near Tuzla by this morning is 19,700.

In the course of the night, all exiled persons were transported from Kladanj to Dubrave. The refugees confirm that the Serbian aggressor is burning houses and killing civilians he comes across in Srebrenica.

It is anticipated that (?some 42,000 civilians) might be expelled from Srebrenica to Tuzla over the next few days.

Thousands 'Unaccounted For'

AU1407121195 Paris AFP in English 1155 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 14 (AFP)—Thousands of Moslems expelled from the fallen Srebrenica enclave are unaccounted for after conquering Bosnian Serb forces trucked up to 30,000 people across front lines in under 48 hours, UN officials said. Fears are growing over the fate of thousands of people, believed to be mainly men, who have disappeared on their journey from the Srebrenica enclave to safety in government-held territory in central Bosnia.

"We are worried about quite a lot of people. We understood there were 40,000 in the enclave but we only have 15-16,000 at most. God knows how many people are still in Srebrenica and what their fate is going to be," said Kris Janowski, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

The majority of the 11,000 or so who have reached an airbase at Tuzla in central Bosnia, the main collection point for the refugees, are women and children, UN officials said.

At the airbase, health conditions are bad. World Health Organisation officials warned "there is a real danger that diarrheal diseases will break out" because of a lack of sanitation and water.

When a UNHCR aid convoy belatedly arrived at a UN compound in the north of the enclave Thursday, aid workers found just a few hundred stragglers left. The rest had gone, officials said.

"The fate of the men, especially, is completely unknown and extremely worrying," Janowski said. He said that one woman told UNHCR officials that her husband had his throat slit by Bosnian Serb soldiers. "She claims she saw eight other bodies of men who were killed by the Bosnian Serbs," Janowski added.

"We are afraid that some very ugly things may have happened there and might indeed still be happening," Janowski said. It is possible that some elderly people are left in villages dotted around the enclave, he added.

Convoy workers said they had seen some 700 hundred men in a football stadium in the Serb-held town of Bratunac and buses full of men were lined up outside the UN compound in Potocari, the only surviving UN presence in the enclave.

UN officials condemned the work of the Bosnian Serb Army which spokesman Alexander Ivanko said "will probably go down in the history books not only as the perpetrators of the most gross violations of human rights and some of the worst ethnic cleansing seen in this country but also as facilitators of some of the fastest ethnic cleansing."

Officials calculate that the Serbs trucked out some 20,000 people from the enclave in under 48 hours. There were at least five documented cases of deaths in Thursday's massive displacement of people. These numbered among the 32 severely wounded who were due to have medevaced to central Bosnia. Instead, they ended up in a Serb hospital in Bratunac where they died, Ivanko said. A further 59 wounded are in the Potocari UN compound.

Bosnian Serb radio said that Serb soldiers had "terminated great groups" of Bosnian Army soldiers and more had surrended. "Several groups...refused to surrender and chose suicide in an attempt to break through to (government-held territory)," the radio reported.

UN officials said there was fighting in the hills around the enclave on Thursday.

Serb Army Issues Statement on Evacuated Muslims

LD1407095895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0940 GMT 14 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, July 14 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army General Staff said Friday that about 30,000 Moslem civilians had been evacuated from Srebrenica on Thursday and taken to the refugee camp in Potocari.

A statement issued by the General Staff press section said a number of Moslem troops, who had handed over their arms on time, had joined the civilians in the refugee camp in Potocari, a small town situated about 5 km north of Srebrenica, eastern Bosnia.

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The evacuation was agreed upon among the Bosnian Serb Army, Moslem and the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) officials, the statement said.

Dutch peacekeepers deployed in Potocari greatly helped evacuate Moslem civilians. Relations between Dutch peacekeepers and members of the Bosnian Serb Army were correct and there were no disagreements or confrontations in assisting Moslem refugees, the statement said.

The wounded Moslem civilians were taken to hospital in the town of Bratunac, about 10 km north of Srebrenica, with Serb physicians and other medical staff doing all they can to provide necessary medical assistance to everybody, the statement said.

The statement also said several groups of Moslem extremists had refused to surrender and decided to break through Bosnian Serb lines.

Bosnian Serb troops liquidated most of the groups that attacked their positions between the villages of Konjevic Polje and Kasaba, while a number of them surrendered, the statement said.

Evacuation Completed

LD1307191995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1819 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Srebrenica, 13 Jul (SRNA)—The evacuation of Muslim civilians from Srebrenica was completed at around 1600 today, SRNA's correspondents from the town report. [passage omitted]

Routed groups of Muslim soldiers from Srebrenica, who did not want to surrender to the Serb Republic Army, attempted a breakthrough toward Konjevic Polje and Kasaba this morning in order to link up with the forces of the Tuzla-based 2d Muslim Corps. Many Muslim soldiers were captured after a successful operation carried out by the Serb soldiers. [passage omitted]

A convoy with supplies for members of the Dutch Blue Helmets' battalion arrived in Potocari this afternoon.

[Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian at 1820 GMT on 13 July, in a Srebrenica-datelined item, reports that "Dragomir Vasic, head of the Zvornik public security center, today told SRNA's reporters Sinisa Milic and Mirjana Kusmuk that the situation in Srebrenica is returning to normal and that the expelled Serb people are "slowly returning to their homes."

["Vasic said that the process of establishing police authority in Srebrenica is under way—from appointing police chiefs to setting up the crime service and legal and administrative departments.

["We have secured all vital buildings in the town and we are trying to normalize the situation in full," Vasic confirmed, adding that "the Srebrenica police station and the Serb Army together will guarantee total security to the Muslims proven not to have taken part in crimes against the Serb people."]

Bosnian Serbs Resettle Srebrenica

LD1307154995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Srebrenica, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—Srebrenica is quiet three days after it was entered by the Serb Republic Army and civilian authorities are being set up in the town, Serb Republic Army sources have said.

Several dozen Serb families, which had had to flee the town three years ago with the outbreak of the war, returned to Srebrenica yesterday and today to find their flats and houses looted and demolished. [passage omitted]

According to Serb military sources, over the past 24 hours there were clashes in the hills around Srebrenica, in the areas of Potocari and Sutjeska. Parts of the routed 28th Division and the Podrinje Brigade of the Muslim army withdrew to the area after the Serb Republic Army forces entered the town.

According to the command of the Drina Corps, the resistance of the routed Muslim units will soon be completely overcome.

Muslim Refugees Settling in Vares

LD1307201195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zenica, 13 Jul (SRNA)—The Muslim radio in Zenica announced today that "a considerable number of people from Srebrenica, who normally would have gone either to Sarajevo or to Zenica districts according to the internal division, will settle in deserted houses and apartments in Vares."

The radio said that the above decision was reached at a meeting of the refugee centres' headquarters held in Zenica today and passed on to the Muslim government for verification.

A central headquarters for refugees was set up at the session, and its seat will be in Vares, a Croatian town in the central part of former Bosnia-Herzegovina which was taken by units loyal to the Muslim government in Sarajevo in 1993 during the Croat-Muslim war.

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Serbs: Zepa, Gorazde 'Willing To Recognize' Serb Authority

AU1307202395 Paris AFP in English 2012 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 13 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb soldiers on Thursday [13 July] were hunting down and disarming government soldiers around Srebrenica, a communique from the headquarters here of the self-declared Bosnian Serb Republic said. "Small groups of armed Moslem terrorists" were tracked down in the hills surrounding Potocari, where the Dutch UN peacekeeping forces are stationed, 15 kilometres (10 miles) north of Srebrenica, the statement said. [passage omitted]

The Bosnian Serb headquarters has also reported fighting around Gorazde, the biggest of three Moslem enclaves in eastern Bosnia, where "a regrouping of Moslem forces had been noted." On Thursday, the Bosnian Serbs also shelled the Moslem enclave of Zepa, south of Srebrenica, the United Nations in Sarajevo said.

Bosnian Serb television asserted Thursday that representatives of Zepa and Gorazde were "willing to recognize the authority of the Serb Republic [Serb-occupied entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina]" in Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik Calls For Dissolution of Contact Group

LD1307231795 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 2121 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Visegrad, 13 Jul (FONET)—Why has the UN not passed a resolution placing western Slavonia under UN protection in order to protect the Serb people there, asked Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, speaking on Visegrad radio today.

Commenting on the UN Security Council resolution demanding the withdrawal of the Serb Army and the restoration of the Srebrenica protected zone, SRNA reports, Krajisnik said that "a genocide was carried out against the Serb people in western Slavonia, while the Muslim people had a choice, either to remain [in Srebrenica] and be loyal to the Serb republic or to move elsewhere."

"Srebrenica was never a protected zone in the real sense of the word as certain conditions had to be met, one of them being the disarmament of all able-bodied persons," Krajisnik said, and added: "Instead of being a protected zone of civilians Srebrenica was turned into a staging point for raids by the Muslim army."

Stressing that 30 Serbs were killed from within Srebrenica in the past 10 to 15 days, the president of the Serb Republic Assembly said that the Supreme Command of the Serb Republic Army made it clear it will not acknowledge any unilateral resolutions.

According to him, "the international Contact Group vanished from the world political scene when it drew up a plan that was inapplicable and discriminatory, totally unrealistic, and unacceptable for the Serb side."

The entire activity of the Contact Group, from that moment and from the start of the blockade of the Serb Republic, has been reduced to "futile attempts," i.e. contacts with itself without any results. The group should have abolished itself since it is clear that it is completely incapable of resolving this problem," warned Krajisnik and went on: "Efforts are now being made to resolve the crisis by appointing a new co-chairman so that the Contact Group can be elegantly dismantled, but given the conduct of the powers that make it up I do not believe that any progress will be made."

Zubak Condemns UN 'Failure' To Halt Genocide

AU1307153695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has demanded that the United Nations use all available means to liberate Srebrenica. An effective action would stop the erosion in the credibility of your organization and ensure the application of the basic principles of the UN Charter, which is frequently being violated in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was stated in a message that Kresimir Zubak has sent to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali.

He also expressed deep disappointment with the passivity and failure of the United Nations to use all available forces to stop the Serb aggressor, who is continuing the occupation of territory and genocide.

Briefs on Talks With Akashi

LD1307214695 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kresimir Zubak, president of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and his aides had talks with UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi in Mostar today. They discussed the current military and humanitarian situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the details regarding the deployment and technical details of the Rapid Reaction Force. President Zubak drew attention to the new proposal regarding details of the technical deployment, which was put forward today. But Akashi could not even accept today's proposal without consulting New York. Here is a more detailed Mijo Keleva report from a brief news conference following the talks.

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[Kelava] President Zubak spoke about the talks, which concentrated mainly on the Rapid Reaction Force deployment, at a brief news conference after the talks that had lasted over three hours.

[Begin Zubak recording] Mr. Akashi, Generals Janivier and [name indistinct] could not give a final response to our proposal, because, as they claim, they have to have New York's approval for this. Today we have agreed to give our proposal to General [name indistinct], from which whom we will receive an answer whether UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the Rapid Reaction Force can accept all points of our proposal. These are purely technical issues, and they should not be problematic. We respect what Mr. Akashi and Janivier told us: That they can give a final answer without New York's approval. [end recording]

[Keleva] An answer to these technical questions will be given in 24 or 48 hours. Yasushi Akashi then spoke at length, but he either did not say anything or he repeated what Mr. Zubak said. Nevertheless, we have here what is important.

[Begin Akashi recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] We need the understanding and full cooperation of the government and people of Herzeg-Bosnia, because its presence and deployment will have an impact on the life of the people here. [end recording]

[Keleva] Although journalists asked questions about the latest situation in Srebrenica and other safe areas, where the humanitarian situation is dramatic, Akashi only talked about the situation. Asked when some UN or UNPROFOR official will finally resign and what will happen, and that the Sarajevo government intended to review the UNPROFOR mandate and request Akashi's resignation, he refused to answer.

Soljic Views Loss of Srebrenica

LD1307180895 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] What effect will the fall of Srebrenica have on the future events in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the Croat people, and how significant is the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force? We asked Vladimir Soljic, defense minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, to answer these questions.

[Begin Soljic recording] To those who are familiar with history and life in this area, and the Croatian leadership in both the Republic of Croatia and Herzeg-Bosnia is certainly among these, everything has been clear for some time now. We did not need the fall of Srebrenica to open our eyes. The Serb aggressors can only be opposed by the same method, i.e. a strong response: Combined military, economic, and political means. The world community has revealed in the case of Srebrenica, and of former Yugoslavia as a whole, the difference in interests, impotence, and often the cynicism of the strong against the helpless victims.

Realistically looking, we can oppose and even defeat the Serb aggressors only on the basis of the Muslim-Croat alliance, as long as it is an honest alliance and cooperation along military lines. It is necessary to know in advance what we want and how to realize it. The sooner we realize it and act accordingly, the sooner we will find solutions and compensate the fall of Srebrenica with a possible new operation of lifting the siege of Sarajevo. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Prlic Sees Federation as Developing Process

AU1307124695 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 95 pp 28-29

[Interview with Dr. Jadranko Prlic, prime minister of Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and deputy prime minister of the Government of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Jozo Curic; place and date not given: "Croats Stick to Federal Constitution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Curic] What can we expect after your journey to the Middle East?

[Prlic] We asked for diplomatic and political support and we got it. Both in Kuwait and in the United Arab Emirates it was unambiguously pointed out that they would only support a state in which both Muslims and Catholics lived together. So, that is in line with the appraisal of the whole Croat policy, that only a marginal section of Islamic countries supports the idea of Islamic or Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina. All those countries, and particularly these two, are in line with Western policy regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have asked Kuwait to help us build refugee centers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we have filed a request to start investing. We have created around 400 different investment programs for economic development throughout the whole territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we expect a reaction to this from the Emirates.

[Curic] In Abu Dhabi they are most afraid of Islamic fundamentalism. Was that fear also expressed during your talks there?

[Prlic] We encountered everywhere the attitude I have indicated.

[Curic] In Sarajevo, they asked you whether you had gone there to get weapons. That is to say, a joint Muslim-Bosniak and Croat offensive started after your trip there with Silajdzic!

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[Prlic] That is a coincidence, life is not so simple. One occasion, one visit, cannot solve anything. There were, in fact, neither talks about weapons, nor would either of the countries violate the arms embargo, because they so deeply depend upon strictly following all the UN decisions. Therefore we cannot talk about it with those two countries.

[Curic] What kind of joint action of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and HVO [Croatian Defense Council] is more important for the Federation: military or political?

[Prlic] Joint political action is more essential, because the army is only the extended hand of politics. One could not expect joint military action, if there had been no joint political action, joint realization of determined political objectives.

[Curic] Regarding that, where is the Federation now?

[Prlic] The Federation is a growing process. Juridically it does not exist. The effects achieved so far are more of a psychological nature, the result of field work, of overcoming certain problems that appear in everyday life. It does not yet exist in any concrete legal form, and it is essential to solve many questions. Now, we are in the process of establishing transitional bodies of authority in municipalities and cantons.

It is essential to solve global questions, the relationship between the Republic and the Federation, the position of Croat and Bosniak-Muslim people in the Federation, and for all this it is necessary to have a final peace solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. In such a nontransparent situation as presently exists in Bosnia-Herzegovina, everybody calculates. And as long as there are calculations, there is no clear solution.

[Curic] What will die away first, the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia or the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Prlic] They can die away simultaneously. When I say the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I know I will probably arouse disgust with part of the public, a well-known part. When I say the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, then I think of its internal establishment. So, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is not at all disputable in the sense of its territorial integrity. I am talking about the internal establishment, and the internal establishment of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is unitarian, and such a solution does not leave any room to the Croat people as a collective.

[Curic] What are the basic problems in the creation of cantonal councils?

[Prlic] The basic problems are in the creation of municipal councils, which should be created before cantonal ones. The mediation process, which was conducted by a representative in the German parliament, Mr. Schwarz-Schilling, is in fact finished. There are different appraisals of the quality of that process, and there is the process of arbitration going on right now, conducted by arbiter Robert Owen from the United States, and which will give concrete judgments in the concrete case. There are approximately 15 municipalities left that have not formed those transitional bodies of authority. Which side is right, that is, which solution should be applied? The sides should carry out without complaint whatever decisions the arbiter makes.

[Curic] What does that mean for the Croats?

[Prlic] The Croats will carry out everything that is written in the Constitution of the Federation, that is, whatever is decided by the arbiter, there is no doubt about that.

[Curic] How would you comment on incidents from the Muslim-Bosniak side, such as forceful mobilization in Kakanj, etc.?

[Prlic] That is a typical difference between a positivistic and a normative viewpoint. Every citizen of Bosnia-Herzegovina is an army conscript. Those Croats [mobilized] live in the territories under the control of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and juridically and legally we cannot lodge a complaint against this. We have no other legal act that would regulate the issue of military service and the Law on Defense within the Federation, and those questions we have been solving on the level of agreement, oral recommendation, and other. I think we have been doing this rather successfully. We have enabled the army conscripts from the area of Tuzla, Zenica, to serve in the HVO, not in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we are on the way to solving that question also in Kakanj, as well as to enable Bosniaks-Muslims living in the territories under HVO control to exercise the same rights. As is known, the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia does not mobilize Muslims, unless they volunteer to be members of HVO.

[Curic] What will happen with the Rapid Reaction Forces? Are the partners in the Federation against their engagement?

[Prlic] The Croat side is not against their being used, the Croat side wants to know precisely the intention of those forces, how they will be used, what their mandate is, where they will be deployed, and what the arrangements for their accommodation will be. We ask for precise answers and then we will take our stand. We are not against those forces, if we know what their actual role is.

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[Curic] Do you believe that Izetbegovic will accept peace negotiations soon? Is there any chance of new peace negotiations soon?

[Prlic] Every war has to end with peace negotiations, so this one will, too. Izetbegovic will accept them, too, probably under condition that a corridor to Sarajevo is opened to humanitarian and other aid, and under condition that safe havens are protected properly. When those preconditions are fulfilled, I think Mr. Izetbegovic will also be ready for peace negotiations, but one has to know exactly what the subject and the basis of the negotiations will be.

[Curic] Are you referring to Serb acceptance of the Contact Group plan?

[Prlic] Well, when the Serbs accept the Contact Group plan, then there will be no negotiations, then we already have a plan. The negotiations have to do with creating a plan. It is hard to tell to what degree this plan still exists. Two sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina have accepted it, the Serb aggressor has not. In the next couple of weeks we will see what arises through those new initiatives.

[Curic] There are ongoing battles for Bihac, Kladusa, and Krupa, can you comment on the relationship between HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Prlic] The HVO does not represent a strong military group in that area. In coordination with the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the HVO has been active in that area, holding important positions, precisely toward the border with the Republic of Croatia. We help them partially with logistics, as much as is possible, because of the difficulties in communication and traffic round Bihac. There are no essential problems, bearing in mind that, not only in that region, the whole relationship is disturbed by the case of General Santic. We still have no clear information on what has actually happened to him. Although we have the reports on the matter from judicial and other bodies, we still do not know the entire truth about this case. Without the entire truth, regardless of what the truth is, one cannot expect a full stabilization of all the relations, particularly in that region.

[Curic] What is the attitude of the Croats toward lifting the arms embargo?

[Prlic] The Croats support lifting the arms embargo, but under condition that arms imports should be allowed for the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Lifting the arms embargo for only one nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the media point out, for the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, is no solution, and in that we have the full support of the relevant international factors, above all the United States.

[Curic] What about the financial system, the financial basis of the Federation?

[Prlic] Objectively, the free territories of the Federation function now as two separate state entities, one under the control of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and another under HVO control. There are two completely divided financial systems, two armies, two police, two state structures. We have succeeded in bringing the tariff and tax rates to the same level, so that in the last couple of months neither side in Bosnia-Herzegovina within the Federation could have said that someone had been stealing something from the other one. The relations are rather well defined there. The question of when the two financial systems are brought together depends upon concrete political solutions. Without the creation of the Federal Army as the biggest budget user, it is impossible to, shall I say, "brace money bags together," within the framework of the Federation.

[Curic] Will Croats give up the kuna and Muslims-Bosniaks the dinar?

[Prlic] It depends upon the agreement we reach. I can say that the Croats will not accept the dinar.

[Curic] What are the obstacles on the railroad Ploce-Pazaric, that is, Ploce-Sarajevo?

[Prlic] The obstacles are two bridges, but they will be finished by October. As is known, two bridges on the river Neretva have been destroyed. The European Union and Germany are financing their reconstruction.

[Curic] Many people charge Herzeg-Bosnia with being lawless. How do you fight against crime, and to what extent have you established a legal state so far?

[Prlic] We have achieved significant results. The Croatian public attitude toward the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia is like toward something parastate, paramilitary. We have nevertheless created a state in that area, a state that functions on five to eight completely separated territories. Despite all the difficulties, I am proud of the results we have achieved. There are also side effects of war, the suffering of the displaced people. Approximately 5,500 HVO members have been killed, there are 8,000 liberation war invalids, all this has happened within a small region and numerous difficulties exist in that area. There is crime, and the situation is far from satisfactory. We are determined in our struggle against crime. Last week we talked to the Croatian Government. I asked them, strongly and finally to take steps to protect the financial system of Herzeg-Bosnia, and at the same time, of the Republic of Croatia. Because these things mainly come from and end back in Croatia.

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[Curic] Has Croatia left you, forgotten about you, disappointed you?

[Prlic] One can expect from Croatia as much as one gives to Croatia. The regions in Bosnia-Herzegovina populated by the Croats have contributed to the establishing of the Croatian state, the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina will never say that Croatia has left them. They can say that someone in the Croatian authorities behaves in this or that way toward the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but you will not hear any Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina say that Croatia has left him.

[Curic] Do you sometimes wish that all the ministers loved the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina as much as the president loves them?

[Prlic] We very often wish that. If it were so, we would have far fewer problems.

[Curic] Do you think that you have good, and enough, public media?

[Prlic] Yes, I do. We have as a public form of information, "Croat Radio Herzeg-Bosnia," "Croat Paper," the news agency HABENA, and I also expect from 15 August the Croat TV Station of Herzeg-Bosnia.

[Curic] Do you have any message for our readers?

[Prlic] I ask them to try to adopt an objective stance toward Herzeg-Bosnia, based upon arguments and realistic information. The thing I fear most is Croatian self-destruction, which is already at work and which can be lethal. We need to be united and we need to carry out Croat state policy together.

[Curic] How long will Livno and Kupres be under attack from the Serb artillery?

[Prlic] Until we drive the Serbs away from the positions from which they attack.

[Curic] Will this be soon?

[Prlic] It will.

HVO General Views Military Cooperation

AU1207145995 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 95 p 7

[Interview with Filip Filipovic, chief of the Joint Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO, by Jozo Pavkovic in Sarajevo; date not given: "We Shall Unblock Sarajevo by the Autumn"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo — Following the two Croatian Defense Council [HVO] generals, Ante Roso and Zivko Budimir, General Filip Filipovic is the third chief of the Joint Staff of the HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He took up the position several days ago in Sarajevo. Gen. Filipovic lives with his wife and three children as a refugee. He says he still does not have a Croatian nationality certificate or passport and that he is living en route between Sarajevo, Novi Travnik, Vitez, and Tomislavgrad.

He was born in Travnik 49 years ago. After high school he graduated from the military academy. He is a professional soldier who has lost his entire property in the war. He does not mind living in Sarajevo. We started our conversation in his office by asking him whether, after the personnel changes within the Joint Staff, some changes in working methods can also be expected.

[Filipovic] There will be changes in working methods, but not because of the staff changes, but rather because the time has come for them. That is to say, in the first phase the task of the Joint Staff was to settle disputed questions and separate forces, which has been accomplished for the most part. Certain issues in relations between the Croats and Bosniaks remain sore, but the goal of victory over the aggressor has pushed them onto the back burner. This means that in some parts a status quo has been reached, while in others disputed issues are being settled. The most important thing is that we are advancing jointly in a coordinated operation to free the occupied regions of the Federation.

[Pavkovic] How far have you gone with the organization of the Joint Staff, that is, what is the situation like there?

[Filipovic] I take this opportunity to thank Gens. Roso and Budimir for their efforts in establishing correct relations among the officers of the Joint Staff, developing working methods, and ensuring conditions for the Staff to function. This means that I have found an atmosphere of mutual respect and cooperation in dealing with problems. At the moment, 20 people on each side, both in the field and on the Staff, are dealing with and settling issues that emerge as critical.

The Federal Army of Two Parts

[Pavkovic] Probably the most disputed issue regards the organization of the federal army, is it not?

[Filipovic] As the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO are well established entities, their working methods directly influence those of the Joint Staff. There are attempts, particularly in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, to establish a single army, into which the HVO would be merged. This is out of question. We insist on the federal army being formed out of two parts.

[Pavkovic] How will you reconcile these two different attitudes?

[Filipovic] We pay attention to the interests of both sides and shall not allow conflicts to be caused by differing

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interests. As a pragmatic man, I view it like this: If one of us invests some money and says the money should be used for forming a tank brigade, we shall act expeditiously to make it be so. That is the future, in which we shall be laying emphasis on the positive qualities of both armies. But what already exists and is differently financed is hard to consolidate things so that one of the sides would not feel inferior. However, we shall soon find a way to settle this problem as well. For instance, the training of personnel in America, Turkey, or Croatia, if it is in the mutual interest, may also be a connecting factor.

[Pavkovic] Do you expect help from officers from friendly countries?

[Filipovic] So far they have already been assisting us. Gen. Souls has already been here and he is familiar with our difficulties. He has announced another visit later this month, when he will be making some suggestions and proposals.

[Pavkovic] At the Fedrration level, the law on defense has not yet been passed. To what extent does this further slow down the establishment of the Joint Staff?

[Filipovic] The law on defense is the fundamental law in any country. If you recall, in the former Yugoslavia the passing of that law was accompanied by many problems. I imagine that the same will happen with our federal law. The Joint Staff has stated its opinion and made some proposals in that regard. However, there are many different opinions.

We Share the Hardships of the Sarajevans

[Pavkovic] Is it possible to work on the Joint Staff without a law on defense?

[Filipovic] It is possible, because the law is being worked out. Clearly, it would be much easier if it had been passed. Much time would have been lost if we had waited for this, which would eventually have influenced relations between the two peoples in general.

[Pavkovic] What will the army of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina look like?

[Filipovic] The matter of insignia, flags, and other things will be settled in the course of the current process. It was precisely Gen. Souls who referred to the example of Greece and Turkey, which have already been members of NATO for 40 years and whose units participate jointly in maneuvers. There are various companies, regiments, or brigades that are independent army units, but at certain levels of command whose personnel are mixed, with joint training, and so forth. The HVO sees a solution in such an approach. Units will remain within their original structures, while at certain levels of command, personnel or command staff will be mixed.

[Pavkovic] The headquarters of the Joint Staff is in Sarajevo. Is it at all possible to work on such a difficult project in a besieged city and to what extent is your work hampered by the situation?

[Filipovic] Sarajevo is the capital of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and it is normal that we are headquartered here. After all, we have to share hardships with the hundreds of thousands of people who are living through this drama before the eyes of the impotent world. In that sense, there will be no ignoring of the location of the headquarters, but in operative terms we are already working in Novi Travnik, as well as in the places where we have to deal with certain problems. This means that administratively and according to our plan we work in Sarajevo, while operatively we work outside it.

Good Cooperation

[Pavkovic] What is the cooperation like between the Joint Staff and the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the HVO, and the Croatian Army?

[Filipovic] Cooperation between the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO is correct. We have satisfactory cooperation with corps staffs as well. Even though we do not appear there in a command function, our voice is still listened to and our suggestions implemented. Cooperation with the Croatian Army is also remarkable. As you know, in Travnik we have signed an agreement and I want to emphasize that the Joint Staff will be extending the cooperation even further.

[Pavkovic] What is the cooperation between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army like in general?

[Filipovic] Not so long ago these two armies were fighting against each other. There was a psychological threshold that was not easy to overcome. It was necessary that a certain time should pass to have many of the wounds at least partially healed. Through active cooperation we have overcome many problems much more quickly than we had expected.

[Pavkovic] To what extent will the further establishment of the Joint Staff influence the functioning of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in general?

[Filipovic] I think that even thus far the military factor has been prevalent in cooperation and finding solution. The Joint Staff as a body can do a lot in that respect. However, there is a limit beyond which we cannot influence things. When we reach that limit, then politics

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has to play its part. There are all too many contrary opinions and attitudes preventing us from overcoming difficulties solely through good military cooperation.

[Pavkovic] How is the operation of liberating Sarajevo unfolding?

[Filipovic] In our long-term planning and implementation we envisaged an operation by which the besieged city would be freed. Many expected a blitzkrieg; however, the situation at the front is very different. Fighting is still going on, with heavy losses on both sides. We are endeavoring to make greater advances in certain areas. We shall punch a corridor, that is, a road toward Sarajevo within one, two, or three months and in such a way that the Serb army cannot cut it. With or without UNPROFOR, we shall do it.

We Do Not Want Any Fuss About Sarajevo

[Pavkovic] The HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army together?

[Filipovic] Of course. The HVO is actively participating in those operations. However, one should bear one fact in mind: Of all the fronts in Bosnia-Herzegovina the Sarajevo front is not of primary importance to the HVO, unlike the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Each of us has his priorities and within those priorities we are achieving cooperation. Besides, we do not want any great fuss about lifting the blockade around Sarajevo. The price is too high, because the aggressor has great artillery power.

[Pavkovic] The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has flared up on all the fronts. Is that the result of the aggressor's attacks or of the active coordinated defense on the part of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army?

[Filipovic] Now we are in a position to be able to transfer pressure from one part of the front to another. We are at least in the same position that the aggressor was in more than a year ago. Now we are the side that chooses the place of attack, while the aggressor is forced to stretch his forces along the front lines, which are now rather long.

[Pavkovic] General, how do you see the end of the bloody Bosnian drama?

[Filipovic] First, the war will last a long time. Second, in this war there will be no ultimate losers, because too many world players are involved to allow otherwise. The war will also last a long time because of the arrangement of forces on the ground. I do not see a settlement in crushing the enemy on all the fronts. It is his superiority and arrogance that ought to be crushed. A climate must be created in which the Serbs will also realize that Karadzic and Milosevic are pushing them only into war. At the same time, the world players must be influenced in such a way as to make them realistic in finding solutions and a lasting peace. After all, we are getting stronger every day. The end of the war depends on this. That means that we are getting closer to a final victory every day.

[Box, page 7]

[Pavkovic] In the regions controlled by the HVO, part of the UN's Rapid Reaction Force has been deployed. What for?

[Filipovic] Consisting of several armies with an undefined mandate and command, they are still just a potential force, not a realistic one. We do not expect their involvement on the front in less than the next few months, regardless of their statements. At the time in Bosnia-Herzegovina there are 300,000 soldiers. The 15,000 troops of this Rapid Reaction Force may tip the scales, but not in the way in which the world is behaving to justify its failures. In any case, for any action that they want to undertake they will have to have our approval. Two or three years ago, they could have passed by without asking us, but already as of 1994 we are very highly respected because of our strength. They probably have a reason for positioning themselves in Croatian territory, but it must be clear to everyone who is the boss there.

[Pavkovic] Are the local Croats slightly fearful of the British and the French?

[Filipovic] They should not be fearful of anybody, because the Croats are no longer in the position of not being able to respond. Their presence should be used to make it easier for our people, because we have suffered too much to allow some commonplace emissaries to set us back to square one.

[Pavkovic] To what extent do the international interests intersect in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Filipovic] Too much. The world has concentrated the bulk of fighting in our territory. They are making efforts to keep the war boiling here, without spilling over to other territories. In that sense the international players are too strong. As long as the forces are unbalanced, there will be no settlement. This is precisely where they are squaring their accounts.

Military Analysis of HVO Operations

95BA0281A Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jun 95 p 10

[Article by Mario Galic: "From Dinara to Freedom"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When the forces of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] began to liberate Livanjsko

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Polje in the early spring of 1994, the ultimate objective of the operation was to push the Serbian artillery as far back from Livno as possible. The end result surpassed what was expected. Not only was the Serbian artillery moved back from the city, but the Croatian forces halted within reach of Crni Lug, a village on the very western edge of the valley, 45 km from Livno. However, this deep penetration also confronted the Croatian units with some new problems. The biggest one was how to secure their flanks, because Serbian paramilitary forces controlled all the dominant points on the mountains around Livanjsko Polje. That is why an operation was initiated to gradually take control of the dominant peaks of Mt. Dinara and Mt. Golija. Both mountains have great importance to the Serbs as well. Whoever controls the peaks of Mt. Golija, and they are under the firm control of Croatian fighters, also controls two cities—Livno and Glamoc. Thanks to their positions on Golija, which are about 3 to 4 km from Glamoc, the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] forces can liberate the city at any moment and open an avenue for advance toward Sipovo and in that way join up with the forces advancing from Kupresko Polje. It is also possible to move northwest from Glamocko Polje, in the direction of Bosanski Petrovac, a city reached in late October and early November of last year by forces of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, advancing from the direction of Bihac. At that time, strong coordinated Serbian formations (from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia) pushed the Muslims back to the suburbs of Bihac. However, things have changed since then in the balance of power between the Serbs on the one hand and the Croats and Muslims on the other. Today, the Serbs would have far more difficulty stopping such a breakthrough. A Serbian auxiliary air base is also in Glamocko Polje, and that would be very welcome to the HVO.

No Support for the Serbs

The second and more difficult operation was carried out on Dinara, which in many respects is more important than Golija. That is, from the peaks of Dinara one looks in the direction of Livanjsko Polje and Livno, but also toward Knin. The most important highway from Knin in the direction of Banja Luka and Belgrade crosses Dinara and passes through Bosansko Grahovo. So long as the Serbs held the eastern part of Dinara, there was a danger of their linking up forces that would move from Staretina and Golija northward and from Dinara southward. The Serbs also used their positions on Dinara for unceasing artillery fire against Croatian positions in Livanjsko Polje and against Livno itself. For all those reasons no further advance of Croatian forces in the direction of Bosansko Grahovo could be contemplated. That is why the Croatian forces had to begin to liberate Dinara. The public was able to learn about the fight being waged "up above" only after Veliki Troglav, the highest peak on Dinara (1,913 meters), was liberated. This protected the central section of Livanjsko Polje from Serbian attack. The forces on the western edges of the valley were still in a difficult position. Crni Lug, until recently a strong Serbian support point, Bosansko Grahovo, and also Knin itself can be seen quite well from that peak on Dinara. The preconditions were thus brought about for a further westward advance, and advantage was taken of that early this month. After that last strike, the Croatian forces halted only 10 km from Bosansko Grahovo, thereby neutralizing strong Serbian support points at Crni Lug and Donje and Gornje Peulje. So now, from Gornje Peulje to Bosansko Grahovo, the Serbs no longer have a single sizable settlement that might be used effectively as the base for creating a military support point. The Serbs must therefore organize their positions in the open areas. This will be even more difficult, because now the artillery pieces of the HVO can effectively hit all the roads leading from Bosansko Grahovo in all directions, and that would include Livno. It will be very difficult for the Serbian commanders, then, to achieve the essential staging of the forces necessary for any future counterstrike, if it occurs at all. The second big success of the Croatian units was the liberation of Mt. Sator, which is approximately halfway from Bosansko Grahovo to Glamoc, and thus divided the Serbian forces in that region. What is more, HVO units now control part of the highway that is the shortest connection between those two towns.

Heading for Knin!

When they reached the mountain pass Rore, the Croatian forces also reached the highway that goes via Prekaja to Drvar and beyond to Bosanski Petrovac. Thus, an opportunity is offered to advance from Sator in three strategically important directions—westward toward Bosansko Grahovo, northward toward Drvar, and eastward toward Glamoc. In whatever direction they move, the Croatian forces will give the weakened Serbian paramilitary formations immense problems.

For the present, the HVO units probably will not advance further in the depth of the territory, but will first do everything to consolidate as much as possible the battle lines they have attained so far, but also to take new positions that will place them at better advantage vis-a-vis the Serbs. Thus, the Croatian forces, after having dug in well on Sator, will move to complete liberation of all of Staretina, together with Bundina Kosa, and thus establish a much shorter and more even battle line, approximately following the Glamoc-Grahovo highway.

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In that way, they would place all of Glamocko Polje under their control, along with all the roads that lead across it to Glamoc. After that, speaking militarily, it would become very easy to carry out an operation to liberate Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc, to advance further toward Drvar and Bosanski Petrovac, and there would be good prospects of joining up with the 5th Corps. Of course, liberating Veliki Bat and Antica Glava has brought about all preconditions for rapid liberation of all the occupied territories of Dalmatia, and of Knin itself in particular.

Retired General Views Armed Forces, Sarajevo

95BA0283B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Jun 95 p 6

[Article by Zdravko Latal: "Mladic's Army Has Lost 130 Square Kilometers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Strategists think that penetrating the Serbian encirclement of Sarajevo will cost from 5,000 to 20,000 lives; General Divjak: The main attack should not be expected before autumn.

From our associate.

Sarajevo, 22 Jun—In the last few days I spoke with two Bosnian Army soldiers: a special forces soldier who participated in the battles that cut through the Vogosca-Pale road north of the city and a soldier who penetrated, together with his unit, to the Trebevic road, a route that has more morale-related and political significance than strategic significance for the Serbs, although the latter is not negligible either. The government forces have tried twice in the last few years to take the road, and also Trebevic. In spite of initial successes, both attempts were disastrous for the Bosnians, because an enormous number of members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army died in the battles. It was said at that time that an investigation of the commanders who sent the soldiers to their deaths would be started, but it is still not known whether that really happened.

"We took the road that leads to Pale very quickly," I was told by the fighter from Trebevic. "Over a width of 200 meters, we occupied almost a kilometer of the territory called Zlatiste. More soldiers died on the Serbian side, and we only had a few wounded. We captured a large amount of weapons. Then their artillery began firing. They fired at us and at their own men, from all sides. Hundred-year-old pine trees were shattered into splinters because of the shells. We had to withdraw. Several soldiers were killed or wounded. We carried our comrades and the weapons that we captured." Almost the same story was told to me by a member of a special unit that fought on the opposite side of the front, i.e., the northern one. "They nailed us to the ground and fired with all possible weapons, even some sort of improvised cannons that we called boilers because of their shape. We also had to abandon that transportation route. The Serbs control both roads with weapons, and the Trebevic road has also been badly damaged. We do not need artillery support, although our enemies are well-entrenched. Our army would just have to neutralize their artillery, which is impossible with the present balance of power. It is precisely for that reason that the blockade of Sarajevo cannot be lifted from inside. The main strikes have to come from outside," said that young but extremely experienced member of the special unit.

The imbalance in artillery is enormous. In the opinion of some world military research centers, the ratio is 1:20, and in the case of tanks, 1:12. The Bosnian Army does not have any surface-to-surface or surface-to-air missiles, the latter of which the Serbs are successfully turning into surface-to-surface missiles. Their superiority is not only manifested in the number of cannons and tanks, but also in the amount of shells. So far, for every shell fired from the city, Mladic's army has responded with 30 shells. That is why the generals in Pale are convinced that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will not be able to break through their front lines, and even if a penetration did occur, it must be known that those front lines are supported by weapons on all sides, and the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would not have time to dig in. The best example of this is the destruction of a Bosnian T-55 tank on the Zuc hill. On Sunday, for 46 minutes, Serbian howitzers fired at that tank, and fired more than 40 shells, and in the end did hit it. Then the firing stopped immediately. All of this was most similar to a mouse's attempt to escape from three cats.

The fact that the Bosnians have three times as many soldiers is rather poor consolation, because that ratio could change at any moment through some ill-considered action. The Bosnian officers are well aware of this. I was told this in a conversation over the obligatory maps by a retired general, who asked me not to write his name, and by the well-known Jovo Divjak, a Serbian general in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. In Zagreb's GLOBUS, Divjak recently talked about the Bosnian Army's chances on the Sarajevo battlefield. The data on the First Corps' capabilities that he cited on that occasion were far from being accurate. It is interesting that early in the spring of 1993, Divjak prepared a plan to break through the Serbian encirclement, which he called "Sword." Let us recall that in those days the Bosnian Army held most of Treskavica, all of Bjelasnica and Igman, and also the important elevation Golo Brdo on Igman, from which it is possible to control Ilidza and Hadzice, and the Trnovo

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area. It lost all of that later on. The current activities are extremely similar to those planned by Divjak, and that is logical, because Sarajevo is still where it was, and the members of Karadzic's and Mladic's army are still in the mountains around it. What the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is doing now is not lifting the blockade from the city, but rather establishing the conditions for doing so. "If you have noticed, we are not attacking the cities, nor even the major and better-protected villages. We are avoiding them. In order to break through, we would need tanks, heavy artillery, a larger number of hand-held missile-launchers, and of course also more soldiers. We still do not have the weapons to break through, and furthermore it has been pointed out to us very severely that we also need to watch out for the soldiers. If we had an opportunity to occupy some village, we would do so, of course. Now we are actually doing what Karadzic did: We are occupying parts of the transportation routes, and first of all partly surrounding the cities, so that as many civilians as possible can leave them, and then later on we will completely surround them. Our weapons are controlling the Ilijas-Senizovac-Vogusca road and the Senizovac-Srednje road. Those are extremely important roads for the Serbian units that provide logistical support. The same is true of the roads toward Trnovo and Kalinovik, and also the Vogusca-Pale and Lukavica-Grbavica-Pale roads, although in that section Mladic also has several side roads through the mountains available," General Divjak said.

The retired general, who is Muslim by nationality, bent over his headquarters maps, asserted that General Rasim Delic was doing a good job of planning actions with the forces at his disposal, but that certain commanders at the lower levels took ill-considered steps that resulted in casualties. "In that kind of situation one has to count on casualties, but the fact is that for the time being they are lower than we expected. Our people must not stop, but the activities will certainly slow down to some extent, because neither side has enough strength to keep that pace. We currently have an advantage because we have not yet included our reserves, which are not negligible, in the battles. At this stage of the battles we are capable of replacing all the forces on the front lines in an instant, but we are short of ammunition and heavy weapons. On the other hand, the Serbs can rapidly supplement their ammunition reserves, but their soldiers are on the battlefields too long," the general said. In his opinion, the present situation at the fronts is favorable to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which has drawn out the Serbian forces along the Sarajevo front, more than 100 kilometers long, where Mladic's strongest forces are accumulated, and also on the Majevica, Ozren, Bihac, and Bogoj fronts. "Mladic is not capable of responding to our sudden attacks, once in one part and then immediately afterward in a different part of the country. Perhaps the blockade of Sarajevo will not even be lifted, but with 70 percent of the artillery and elite units our army is occupying territory that even yesterday was still far behind the chetniks' lines," General Divjak said.

He also said that the blockade of Sarajevo will probably not be lifted until late in the autumn, when the weather conditions will be more favorable to infantry, i.e., the Bosnians. The only reason why that operation would possibly be accelerated is the news that international rapid reaction forces will be sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina soon; in our interlocutor's opinion, those forces will not protect the members of the peacekeeping forces, but instead will protect the current lines of separation. It is also not yet known where the main breakthrough will take place. Historically, Sarajevo has always been conquered or liberated from the east, i.e., from Pale. "I do not know how the operation will proceed. Probably this time Sarajevo will be liberated from the west, but that is a long frontline. It would be easiest to carry out the attack from the direction of Hadzici, because that is a strongly fortified town with about 30 tanks furthest removed from the center for logistical support. Also effective would be a penetration from the north—from the Cemer Mountains to Vogosca, which in that case would be attacked from all four sides. Violent battles are also still continuing in the west near Ilijas and Semizovac, where it could be possible to break through to the city along the Bosna River valley, i.e., to Reljevo and Rajlovac, where they would link up with military units from the city. One of the easiest penetrations would be from the direction of Kiseljak, from which the forces of the Croatian Defense Council went into battle. The Serbian fortifications are also the weakest there, because no one expected attacks from that side," the general said.

These are the views of a professional who has been retired since 1991. The final decision, of course, will be made by the military's commander in chief, Alija Izetbegovic, and will depend upon political and other pressures, as well as the situation in the coming days and months. The soldiers will decide on where the main attack will be carried out, if it even takes place, but the fact is that Sarajevo will be the target of attacks again, and blood will flow in its streets again.

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Intervention Threatened If Serbs Menace Bihac

AU1307162595 Paris AFP in English 1557 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 13 (AFP)—Croatia would be forced to intervene if the Bosnian Serbs tried to repeat their seizure of Srebrenica by threatening the Moslem enclave of Bihac, Zagreb's UN envoy said in a report Thursday [13 July].

Mario Nobilo, cited by the HINA news agency here, said Croatia was concerned about the situation in Bihac, northwest Bosnia, where between 60,000 and 70,000 people live.

Speaking at a UN Security Council meeting, which called on the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw from Srebrenica, he added Croatia "would consider the displacement of this population as a threat to its internal security and its citizens."

Bihac, like Srebrenica, is a UN-declared safe zone and lies 40 kilometers (25 miles) from the Croatian border. Zagreb fears that if it is threatened by Bosnian Serb forces, its population would head across the border.

"With such figures, Croatia would perhaps be forced to take action to assure the status of Bihac's security zone status if it was threatened," HINA quoted Nobilo as saying.

He said the international community's "lack of resolve" toward Srebrenica, which fell into Bosnian Serb hands Tuesday, posed "serious dangers" to Croatia and Bosnian Croats.

Granic Meets Ambassadors, Comments on Srebrenica

LD1307171095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia, today received ambassadors of the UN Security Council permanent members, the Contact Group, the European Union troika, Hungary in its capacity of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] president, and the ambassador of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Minister Granic presented Croatia's views on the regional developments, and especially on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina following the Serb capture of the safe area of Srebrenica. He stressed that the situation around Zepa is deteriorating and expressed the government and Croatian public's full solidarity with the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Dr. Granic drew attention to the dire humanitarian consequences and the fact that a large number of refugees will have an impact on the situation in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He concluded that this is an additional Serb pressure on the project federation. In this context he requested a more active international support for the strengthening of the union between Croats and Bosniaks.

He announced that Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, as well as the highest-ranking officials of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, will meet soon.

Croatia has consistently urged a peaceful solution and is ready to give an active contribution to the restoration of peace, Dr. Granic said. At the same time, he stressed that the international factors' constant mollification of the regimes in Belgrade and Pale, which have openly chosen a war option, caused the current crises that could spread to the entire southeastern Europe.

Croatia demands an urgent revival of the peace process, which will be accompanied by an increased pressure on Belgrade and tougher sanctions against Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs. It believes that a peaceful resolution can be reached only on the basis of mutual recognition of all states created on the territory of former Yugoslavia within their international borders, the implementation of the Washington agreements and the Contact Groups' plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, mutual normalization of relations, and the readiness to resolve all outstanding issues. At the same time, it is extremely important to keep the sanctions against the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serbs as an important pressure factor until the peace process is completed, Minister Granic said. He concluded that only such a solution guarantees a lasting peace and security in southeastern Europe.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Ambassador Kasim Trnka briefed Minister Granic and the present ambassadors about the situation in Srebrenica and about conclusions reached by the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He expressed gratitude to the government of the Republic of Croatia on its support and solidarity at these difficult times through which Bosnia-Herzegovina is going.

Pledges Human Rights Probe

LD1307143395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1311 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 13 (TANJUG)—Croatian Vice-Premier Mate Granic has promised to the United Nations that Zagreb will investigate "as soon as possible" allegations of human rights violations in

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western Slavonia during its aggression on this part of Serb Krajina.

In a letter to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the U.N. human rights commission's special rapporteur on the former Yugoslavia, Granic, who is also Croatia's foreign minister, has stated that the perpetrators of crimes will be punished in keeping with the Croatian law.

Croatian press said Thursday Granic objected to Mazowiecki using the term "the Republic of Serb Krajina" in his report on consequences of the aggression on western Slavonia.

Serbs in Croatia proclaimed their own state, the Republic of Serb Krajina, in 1991, after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslavia and erased Serb national rights from the Croatian Constituion.

Granic said, omitting the word "so-called" in front of the term "the Republic of Serb Krajina," Mazowiecki treats Croatia and Serb Krajina as equals in terms of legitimacy.

According to figures released by the Yugoslav Government, 3,300 Serb Krajina civilians and about 1,000 troops were killed in Croatia's aggression on western Slavonia on May 1-2, while 15,000 people fled their homes, seeking shelter in other Serb territories.

Radio on Postponement of 'RSK' Assembly Session

AU1407110895 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, at the extraordinary session in Mirkovci, the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Assembly was supposed to appoint the new government of Milan Babic, prime minister designate and leader of the Serb Democratic Party of Krajina.

The announced session did not take place as deputies from the western part of the RSK were unable to enter the eastern part of the RSK at a checkpoint near Tovarnik. ISKRA reports that there have been no official explanations for that. According to the same source, RSK President Milan Martic visited Mirkovci today and met with Serb Radical Party [SRS] deputies from the eastern part of Krajina. President Milan Martic announced consultations in Belgrade and the representatives of the Krajina SRS from the eastern part of the country went to Tovarnik to hold joint consultations with deputies from the western part of Krajina. Then they will go to Belgrade.

Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign policy advisor to the RSK president, told ISKRA that the session of the RSK Assembly could not take place in Mirkovci as a convoy of deputies was sent back at about 1300 [1100 GMT] from the border crossing between the RSK and the Republic of Serbia near Sid. According to Jarcevic, only RSK President Martic was allowed to cross the border, which he did. RSK Assembly Chairman Rajko Lezajic stayed in Serbia, and Prime Minister Designate Milan Babic did not even leave for Mirkovci, because he was informed about the blockade while he was still in Vukovar.

According to ISKRA, RSK Assembly Chairman Rajko Lezajic said that deputies will be informed about the beginning of next session in good time in the next couple of days.

Serbs Report Muslim Offensive Near Bihac

LD1307193195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1842 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—Members of the 5th Corps of the so-called Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina today launched a new attack on the Republic of Serb Krajina around the village of Komesarac in Kordun, northwest of Bihac, ISKRA has reported, quoting the Information Service of the General Staff of the Krajina Serb army.

The same source said that fighting has continued into the early evening and that there were losses on both sides. The attack by the 5th Corps on Komarac is the second one in the past two months.

At the same time, the 5th Corps extremists are once again targeting the Republic of Serb Krajina in the area around Mt. Plesevica in Lika, south of Bihac, and around Suva Medja and Cerkezovci in Banija, northeast of Bihac.

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Turkey's Demirel on Greek Dispute, Bosnia

AU1307135195 Paris AFP in English 1323 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ohrid, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], July 13 (AFP)—Turkish President Suleyman Demirel said here Thursday [13 July] Macedonia needed political and economic support from the international community in its dispute with Greece.

"We regret all opposition to this," said Demirel as he arrived for a two-day visit to the former Yugoslav republic.

Turkey, a regional rival of Greece, was the first country to recognize Macedonia and open an embassy there, Demirel noted.

Greece slapped an economic embargo on Macedonia in February last year and says it will only be lifted if Macedonia changes its name which is the same as that of a historic northern Greek region.

Commenting on the Bosnia crisis, Demirel said the situation was "casting a shadow over the authority of the international community and the United Nations."

Demirel and his Macedonian counterpart Kiro Gligorov will sign a treaty on friendship and cooperation Friday.

The Turkish president, who arrived in this lakeside resort on the Albanian border after political talks in Tirana, is to address the Macedonian parliament Saturday.

Albanian Officials Discuss Education 'Reciprocity'

AU1407071095 Skopje MIC in English 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The ministers in the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Government Emilija Simoska (education) and Dimitar Buzlevski (transport and connections) received the delegation of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly of the Republic of Albania yesterday, in separate meetings.

During the talks in the Ministry of Education, Emilija Simoska stressed that the international standards in the sphere of education for all minorities are upheld in Macedonia, whereby the main accent is placed on quality. Macedonia, as a country inhabited by a number of nationalities, must pay attention to the integrity in the field of education as well, foremost at the highest level, it was said at the meeting.

For the overcoming of some problems and greater cooperation on the basis of reciprocity between the two countries in the field of education, both sides emphasized it is necessary to hold a meeting at ministerial level between Macedonia and Albania, as soon as possible. Other efforts in this direction would also be to sign a protocol for validation of the diplomas from both countries.

At the meeting with the Minister of Transport and Connections Dimitar Buzlevski, the two sides expressed satisfaction with the cooperation to date, in the field of road transportation between the two countries, as well as the interest in the East-West corridor.

Towards the end of the meeting, after the guests showed an interest concerning the closing of a number of radio and television stations in Macedonia, the Minister of Transport and Connections informed the delegation from Albania that it was done on the basis of the criteria of technical character and the existing legislation for protection of the wave lengths.

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Daily Criticized Over Ambassador Rey's Letter

WS1407111395 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 14 Jul 95 p 3

[Commentary by "CIS": "ZYCIE WARSZAWY Reports"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gentlemen do not discuss facts. Unfortunately, ZYCIE WARSZAWY reporters do not know this. First they wrote that the U.S. administration is avoiding meeting with Labor Minister Miller because of his political past. U.S. Ambassador to Poland Nicholas A. Rey personally denied the allegations. In writing. TRYBUNA published the whole letter yesterday. ZYCIE WARSZAWY, on the other hand, censored the letter and challenged the ambassador's statement. Even in the part pertaining to facts, for instance on the continuing "deep Polish-American dialogue" with the current authorities of the Polish Republic.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY clearly subscribes to the old bolshevik principle that if facts do not fit an a priori theory, it is too bad for the facts.

Bartoszewski in France To Discuss Integration

LD1307210195 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The process of Poland's integration into the EU and the development of Franco-Polish contacts are the main topics of Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski's talks in Paris. French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette described relations between Warsaw and Paris as excellent. France would like, however, to increase investments in our country.

[Correspondent Grzegorz Dobiecki] It is no longer the prospect of Poland's acceptance into the EU that is the main subject of Wladyslaw Bartoszewski's talks in Paris, although French support for our strivings and also the horizon of the year 2000 as the prospect of Poland's membership were confirmed by both Michel Barnier, minister delegate at the Foreign Ministry in charge of European affairs, and Foreign Minister Herve de Charette.

What is important today is rather the strengthening of Franco-Polish bilateral relations, all the more so since first the change of government in Poland, and then the presidential elections in France curtailed these relations considerably; but more important still, in the opinion of the Polish Foreign Ministry, is that after the recent extremely intensive Polish-German contacts, the equality of all three arms of the Weimar Triangle should now be confirmed.

[Begin recording] [de Charette, in French with superimposed Polish translation] There is no competition between us, after all. Our three nations, I repeat, three nations have every reason to build lasting foundations of friendship between them.

[Bartoszewski] Today's talks with Minister de Charette confirmed my opinion that France fully appreciates the importance of friendship with Poland, and the present president of France is reputed to be a very open person as regards his attitude to Poland, and well disposed toward Poland. That is how he is perceived in Poland, and I think this perception is correct. [end recording]

[Dobiecki] France's six-month presidency of the EU has ended, assessed from the viewpoint of Poland's interests it is undoubtedly worse than the previous German presidency, but will surely come to be assessed considerably higher than the Spanish presidency that is in store for us. Now, in the Polish foreign minister's opinion, it is time to tighten bilateral and better still trilateral relations between Poland, France, and Germany.

Tomorrow Minister Bartoszewski will take a special place on the dais of honor on which France's supreme authorities will review the annual parade along the Champs-Elysees on France's national day.

More Poles Engaging in 'Pro-European Activity'

MM1307151695 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 5 Jul 95 p 9

[Report by "AGA": "Marching to Europe in Line-Abreast Order"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "It would amount to filling in the battle trenches that were dug after Yalta," Minister Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, government plenipotentiary for European integration, commented on Poland's future entry into the EU. As things stands now, it seems that...

...Most Poles Are in No Doubt...

...that we should try to secure eventual EU membership. Asked about the advantages that they think will follow from it, they speak of better security, easier access to EU funds, opportunities for business development and, consequently, prosperity for individuals, more freedom of movement and, finally, fuller participation in European culture.

In 1992, when the Sejm voted on the ratification of the treaty on Poland's association with the EU, 80 percent of deputies voted in favor. When, two years later, and one day before submitting the application to join the EU, a heated debate on the subject was in progress in parliament, the final ballot revealed that...

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The Deputies Were 100 Percent in Favor

In that case the debate centered on the question of when and how Poland should enter the structures of a united Europe, rather than whether such a need arose in the first place. Negotiations on the subject of European integration in the year 2000 are scheduled to begin as soon as 1997. Prior to that date, initial talks will be held next year between government representatives of the present EU member countries. Unfortunately, recent information suggests that...

Poland Will Not Be Invited to the Conference Even With Observer Status

"We should be heard out. Unilateral consultations are insufficient," Saryusz-Wolski insists.

The minister says that the price of a divided Europe, or a Europe united only in part, will be far higher than the costs of integration. For the time being, however, the view is fairly widespread—especially among the Eurocrats—that integration should be put off. "You should try to attain a degree of prosperity first, and then you will present less of a problem for us," they unofficially tell the delegates from the former people's democracies as they chat to them, off the record, in the lobbies. "We will accept you by the end of the century."

When, during a meeting held in Warsaw for diplomats from several European countries the conversation turned to the boundaries of contemporary Europe, the participants kept stressing that...

Europe's Boundaries Stop Short of Areas Where Intolerance and Fanaticism Start

...and where the influence of the Mediterranean culture, and of such values as humanity and democracy, is no longer felt. Today, as they discuss the question of extending the EU boundaries, the union's members do not doubt that one day even Turkey will be admitted. Maybe even Russia will find a way in, but that can happen only if it gives up its dream of rebuilding its empire.

Poles say "yes" to unification with Europe, even though relatively few of them know anything about EU structures or the legislation in force throughout the countries of the united Europe. At the same time, many nongovernmental organizations for the dissemination of information on European integration operate in Poland even now.

Among these are the Foundation for the Development of Local Democracy, which trains local government officials to European standards; the Center for European Thought in Krakow; the Central and Eastern Europe Institute in Lublin; the Polish Council for the European Movement; the "Development" Regional Association in Piotrkow; and also the "Theater NN" in Lublin. The activities pursued by this last institution in addition to staging artistic events include the organization of interethnic conferences which provide a joint forum for representatives of many cultures—Polish, Jewish, Belarusian, and Ukrainian—to meet and share their experiences.

The greater the number of people who become actively involved in pro-European activity, the easier and, hopefully, shorter will be the period of preparation for our entry into the EU—preparation which ought to take place on many fronts and in many areas. "We should march to Europe in 'line-abreast' order, not following a bureaucratic 'arrowhead' formation," Minister Saryusz-Wolski says.

Future Agricultural Integration With EU Viewed

WS1307131595 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 12 Jul 95 p 4

[Article by Andrzej Kwiecinski: "Fears Concerning Integration of Our Agriculture Are Exaggerated; Unsubstantiated Fears"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The EU summit in Cannes did not—because it probably could not—set the date for starting negotiations on Poland's membership in the EU. The year 2000 is still only a dream of our pro-Europeans; at the same time, this prospect causes increasingly greater fears among our Euroskeptics.*

The biggest fears are caused by the prospect of integration of Polish agriculture with the EU. One can increasingly often hear the opinion that Polish agriculture will be too weak in competition with EU farmers, that it will be destroyed, and that many rural inhabitants will lose their source of income. On the other hand, many people in the EU are convinced about the latent, considerable potential of the Polish agriculture, which will be realized the moment our peasants get access to the high prices of agricultural products which are guaranteed by the Common Agricultural Policy [CAP]. As a result, the balance on EU agricultural markets would be upset and the Polish agricultural exports would increase quite considerably. These high exports, in turn, would put an additional burden on EU tax payers and would make it difficult for the EU to observe the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (World Trade Organization), especially those provisions which deal with export subsidies. Along with the expenditures of the structural funds, which are estimated to be quite considerable, the costs of Poland's integration with EU which would have to

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be covered by EU taxpayers would, according to some sources, total 15 to 20 billion ECU a year.

I believe that these fears are obviously exaggerated by both sides.

Good Weather for Polish Peasants

Let us start with the Polish fears. First, the direction of changes in the CAP, initiated in 1992, shows that the moment Poland becomes an EU member, around the year 2000 for example, this policy will continue to be highly protectionist. Proposals of radical reforms to shorten the distance between EU agricultural prices and world prices encounter the strong opposition of the agricultural lobby and of some countries, such as France.

Thus, as things look today, one can suppose that CAP will be more protectionist than the policy which Poland will afford to pursue before joining the EU. The relationship between the purchase price and production means prices are more favorable in the EU than in Poland. If we use the generally accepted gauge of supporting agriculture, the so-called PSE calculated in percents (Producer Subsidy Equivalent), we can determine that in 1992 and 1993 the value of that support compared to the agricultural value was 48 percent in the EU and 15 to 16 percent in Poland. This means that when we come under the umbrella of the CAP, there is no threat that the operating conditions of the Polish agriculture will deteriorate. On the contrary; it can be expected that they will generally improve.

Second, we keep looking at the agricultural sector in the Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, France; however, it must be remembered that EU agriculture also comprises agriculture sectors in Portugal, Greece, Spain, and southern Italy, where the agrarian structure is similar to that found in Poland. Therefore, there should also be some room for Polish agriculture, with its structure characterized by small farms. When Portugal, Spain, and Greece joined the EU (the European Economic Community at that time), this fact did not cause any processes which we fear today.

Third, in Poland there is no mechanism for private farms going bankrupt. This is due to the fact that tax burdens in that sector are not heavy and that small farms mostly prefer not to get loans from banks. They operate far away from the circulation of big money, as it were. Peasant incomes may not be great, but this does not cause people to lose their jobs in agriculture. That people decide to stop working their private farms results from the fact that there have appeared possibilities of obtaining greater incomes outside agriculture and not from the fact that some forces drive them away from agriculture.

Thus, the CAP does not pose a threat to the Polish agriculture, although there are many negative things about it, chiefly from the point of view of the Polish consumer, who will have to pay more for food, and from the view of the taxpayer, who to a certain extent will have to contribute his money to the process of providing greater support to Polish agriculture. However, the fears of Polish consumers and taxpayers are definitely not voiced as loudly as the fears of our peasants.

Rapid Increase on Paper

The fears which are expressed in the EU are also exaggerated. The Polish agricultural sector, consisting primarily of relatively small farms, is comparatively immune to both negative shocks (the decrease in agricultural production in the first period of the transformations was smaller in Poland than in other postcommunist countries) and to positive changes. This was also confirmed by the experiences of Spain, Portugal, and Greece, whose integration with the EU—despite certain fears—did not bring about any disturbances in the EU's agricultural markets.

The fact that many people in the EU expect a considerable increase in agricultural production in Poland after Polish peasants get access to the high agricultural product prices in the EU results from the fact that those people do not allow for the transitional character of the low agricultural prices in Poland in 1990 and for the agricultural production decrease after 1991. They compare the low prices in Poland with high prices in EU (before MacSharry's reforms), and they choose the years 1990-91, when the level of agricultural production in Poland was high. As a result, even if low coefficients of price flexibility of demand are assumed, it is easy to obtain a rapid production increase; however, this increase will only be on paper, because the assumptions do not correspond to the reality.

Unfortunately, authors of some of the reports which are readily quoted in Western countries have fallen into this trap (the Baldwin report, for instance). As a consequence, the costs which would have to be covered by the EU budget, those concerning the CAP, are overestimated.

Moreover, estimates concerning the money which EU would have to spend on structural aid for Poland are also too high. These estimates ignore both the ability of the Polish economy to absorb those sums, and the duty imposed on the member state (that is, on Poland in the future) to finance approximately 50 percent of the total costs of the structural projects.

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Thus, in line with those calculations, the transfers of money, related to the structural policy, would total ECU 12.5 billion, or approximately 12.5 percent of Poland's gross domestic product envisioned for the year 2000 (a recent report by a British ministry). In Spain—a country which has about as many inhabitants as Poland and which is now the main user of the structural funds—this relationship is only 1.5 percent.

Step by Step

The table in the text [not included here] includes an approximate, yet rather realistic estimate of the EU budget expenditures; the calculations allow for CAP, the structural funds, and Poland's envisioned contributions to the EU budget.

To allay the fears expressed by both sides and to decrease the difficulties which adaptation processes in agriculture involve, it seems inevitable to employ the so-called classical integration method, that is, one involving a five-to-seven-year transition period in which the two levels of the agricultural prices would gradually even out.

Thus, it will be just a repetition of the Spain, Portuguese, Greek, British, Danish, and Irish experiences, rather than the experiences of Finland, Austria, or Sweden. It was possible to admit those three latter countries without the transition period requirement due to their high level of development, mechanisms of supporting agriculture in those countries similar to those in the CAP model, relatively small size of the agricultural sectors, and relatively high prices of agricultural products (with the exception of Sweden, where prices were liberalized in the early 1990's), which did not pose a threat to the interests of EU farmers.

Reducing the problems of the agriculture to their real size does not change my conviction that agriculture will undoubtedly be one of the main areas of controversy in our future negotiations with the EU. This results from the unique character of agriculture as a sector whose share in the creation of the national income and in employment is decreasing.

In the process of deagrarization of the Polish economy, Polish agriculture is being subjected to all kinds of economic and social pressure which make the public sensitive to this section of the economy. This is reflected in the way instructions for negotiations are determined.

The other reason is the unique character of the CAP, implemented by means of a complex mechanism of numerous regulations and directives which are different for different agricultural markets. It requires detailed discussions as well as time to join this mechanism.

Third, whenever the EU was enlargeds, agricultural issues were decided in the course of particularly lengthy and difficult negotiations, and I do not think that things will look different in the case of Poland.

Walesa Supports Amendment Lowering Thresholds

WS1407105995 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Jul 95 p 2

[Report by "POZ": "ZChN. The President Wants To Amend the Electoral Law; Will Thresholds Be Lowered in Parliamentary Elections?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As ZYCIE WARSZAWY has already reported, President Lech Walesa is to submit a draft amendment to the electoral law developed by the Christian-National Union [ZChN] to the Sejm. The major novelty is lowering the voting threshold from 5 to 3 percent (for coalitions—from 8 to 5 percent), provided at least 20 percent of the voters fail to seat their representatives in the Sejm. [as published]

The ZChN leaders have been talking of this amendment for some time. Asked who would submit it to the Sejm, they were very secretive. Backstage, it seemed they were counting on Walesa.

It is worth remembering that ZChN—like nearly all the rightist parties—is a victim of the current electoral law. It was a part of the "Homeland" coalition which netted a mere 7 percent of votes. It is currently one of the largest groupings of the extraparliamentary opposition.

After yesterday's meeting between ZChN Chairman Ryszard Czarnecki, Chairman of the ZChN National Council Wieslaw Chrzanowski and Lech Walesa, presidential Spokesman Leszek Spalinski announced the president is to submit a draft amendment to the electoral law to the Sejm, and the date is only a technicality. After the 1993 elections, Walesa often called the current parliamentary system "unbalanced," much to the disapproval of coalition deputies. It is doubtful whether they will approve the suggestion.

The Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party where the chief beneficiaries of the fact that many parties (supported by nearly one-third of the constituency) did not make the threshold. Both coalition partners represent a combined total of 35 percent of the voters, yet because of wasted votes—cast primarily on the right—they hold nearly two-thirds of seats in the Sejm.

Having left the presidential palace, the ZChN leaders assured that support for their initiative does not imply they will automatically support Walesa for president. They are to make a decision in August. They claim the

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choice will be only between the incumbent president and Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz (thus crossing Adam Strzembosz off their list).

Central Bank Chief Meets With PSL Officials

WS1307140195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by M.D.Z.: "Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz Met With PSL Politicians; Building Christian Democracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *At the presbytery of the St. Catherine Church, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz met with politicians of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. The talk was held on 11 July and participating in it were five PSL deputies and senators, with Janusz Piechocinski, PSL parliamentary club chairman, and father Jozef Maj. It was the first meeting of the peasants with a rightist candidate for president; they are planning to hold more of them.*

PSL Chairman Waldemar Pawlak knew about the meeting and consented to it; he was also informed about its results. Now the peasants want to meet with Jan Olszewski, and then perhaps with Jan Parys (who, however, has backed out of the primaries).

The talk between Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and the PSL parliamentarians lasted two hours. As we found out, the participants discussed primarily current political topics. Ms. Waltz wanted to find out whether it is true that former Prime Minister Pawlak is planning to encourage the PSL to break off its coalition with the Democratic Left Alliance before the presidential elections; the peasants denied these rumors. The PSL politicians, in turn, were curious to know who would be included in Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz's entourage if she won the elections. They also wanted to make sure that in the campaign the president of the National Bank of Poland would not play the role of a "Trojan horse" that would back out of the elections and make things easier for Lech Walesa. The bank president gave assurances that she does not intend to support Lech Walesa, and if in the opinion poll conducted on the order of "Solidarity" for the St. Catherine's Covenant her rating is higher than that of any other rightist candidate, then she will consider the possibility of running in the elections very seriously.

Participants of the meeting also discussed possibilities of building a strong Christian-democratic structure in the future in Poland. "Ms. Waltz realizes that this is the direction in which the PSL must evolve if it does not want to disappear from the political scene," we were told by one of the PSL deputies. Center-right politicians believe, in turn, that unless the PSL's candidate passes into the runoff round of the elections—and they think that this is going to happen—the peasants will have to find another politician worthy of their support in the "final." Therefore, they prefer to hold talks now to see whom they might support in such a case.

At the meeting, PSL deputies invited Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz to take part in an economic conference which they are going to hold.

PSL politicians do not intend to be in touch with rightist candidates only. There is a strong group of deputies in the PSL club who would readily back the candidacy of Tadeusz Zielinski.

Pension Indexation, Budget Details Cited

WS1307140095 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "DAN": "Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko Announces: Indexation in December"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Pensions are to be indexed once again this year by 17 percent. The Finance Ministry projects only one indexation for next year.*

Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko has announced that in 1996 wages in the state company sector are to rise by a real value of 3 percent, in the public sector by 4.3 percent, and pensions by 2.5 percent. The budget will have to allocate 111.5 billion zlotys [Z] for wages in the public sector and social security.

The government is to begin the development of the pension indexation law today. "We are looking for solutions that would guarantee a real growth of every type of pension by 2.5 percent," said Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Grzegorz Kolodko at a news conference on 12 July. The pensions are to be indexed by 17 percent this year, but only in December.

The government is to present the Tripartite Commission with a suggested salary growth index in the public sector for negotiation by June 20. It is also to suggest how much real salaries in 1997 and 1998 are to grow.

"The average salaries of some 2.5 million employees of the public sector will grow by a real value of 4.3 percent next year," said Grzegorz Kolodko. "We will leave it up to our partners on the Tripartite Commission to decide which occupational group—policemen, university professors, state administration officers, nurses, or some other—will get pay raises."

Prime Minister Kolodko said that he has already presented ministers, heads of central administration offices, and voivodes with a preliminary budget draft. The government plans to earmark Z5.888 billion for the Ministry of Internal Affairs—6.8 percent more in real terms than

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this year. A further Z8.171 is to be allocated to defense (a growth of 5.2 percent). Outlays on construction are to grow by 11 percent.

Sejm Approves 'Competence Law'; Veto Possible

WS1307135995 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 12 Jul 95 p 1-2

[Article by Jan Forowicz: "The Competence Law Will Return to the Sejm Like a Boomerang"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *By introducing one minor amendment to the competence law adopted by the Sejm on 29 June, the Senate decided that none of the stages of a complex legislative procedure will be omitted in passing it. The law will now return to the Sejm which is to examine the amendment.*

"You can bet it will return to the Sejm once again because the president's men said they will persuade Lech Walesa to veto it. We also know that the veto will most probably be rejected in the Sejm by a huge majority. The president may retaliate by filing a complaint with the Constitutional Tribunal. If the Tribunal shares his opinion, the law will go back to the Sejm like a boomerang." [unattributed quote]

In Rajmund Szwonder's Commission

On the eve of the plenary session of the Senate, the National Defense Commission, headed by Rajmund Szwonder (Democratic Left Alliance—SLD), moved for approving the law without any amendments. The Commission of Legislative Initiatives and Projects also debated the issue. At a joint session, the Sejm was represented by Tomasz Nalecz (Freedom Union). The government was represented by First Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka, accompanied by Brigadier Generals Jaroslaw Bielecki, head of Organizational and Mobilization Planning at the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, and Kazimierz Nalaskowski, head of the Legal Department at the Ministry of National Defense [MON]. Senators Pawel Jankiewicz (SLD), Jerzy Madej (independent), Leszek Lackorzynski ("Solidarity"), and Stefan Pastuszka (Polish Peasant Party—PSL) took the floor.

The debate was very heated, although no formal motions were made. None of the senators took up the proposal of Maciej Flemming, director of one of the departments at the National Security Office [BBN], who suggested several amendments reinstating corrections made by [BBN head] Minister Henryk Goryszewski (see POLSKA ZBROJNA 17 May, 10 June, and 30 June) which had been first presented at a session of the Sejm commission. The senators were already acquainted with the deputies' suggestions. There is a widespread belief in the Sejm that Minister Goryszewski's corrections infringed the Constitution—the law, being a lower-ranking legal act, should not trespass it in any way. No one shared the fears of General Bielecki who claims the law is full of ambiguous passages. He warned they might make the law's implementation very difficult.

Senator Lackorzynski launched the fiercest attack during the sessions of the Senate commissions. He moved for the rejection of the competence law in its entirety. In the vote that immediately followed, it turned out that there is only one supporter of the motion—the author himself.

Critical Remarks at the Plenary Session of the Senate

Leszek Lackorzynski did not give up easily. During last week's plenary session of the Senate, he stressed that the law—making the head of the General Staff of the Armed Forces far too dependent on the civilian defense minister—"may prove lethal for the nonpolitical character of the Armed Forces." He thus harshly criticized the law once again, stressing he was not speaking on behalf of any specific political grouping. "I was once a soldier and fought criminals. Then I was a prosecutor and was recalled from my post by political midgets," he said. "Every soldier has a right to have good commanders, and what we are doing here is opening the gate to military command for people ranked high by political parties but who are completely incompetent on military issues."

An observer of the plenary Senate discussion could see that the "political character" of the law displeased even Deputy-Reviewer J. Madej, whose function commits him to absolutely dispassionate reporting on the commission's agreements. The fact that the law did not provide for "the president's command over the Armed Forces" disturbed August Chelkowski and Zbigniew Romaszewski (both from "Solidarity"). Jozef Fraczek (PSL) asked about MON's prerogatives in time of war. The politician claims the law is deficient as it subordinates the military secret services to a politician—the defense minister representing any party that happens to dominate at the moment.

...And Positive Remarks

The governing coalition defended the amendments. Zdzislaw Kieszkowski (PSL) claims that the competence law dated 29 June "allows to hope for order in the administration of the Polish Republic." Adam Daraz (PSL) stresses that "conflicts pertaining to authority between the defense minister and the head of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces have been going on for too long and should finally stop." Witold Grabos (SLD)

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refutes charges on the lack of provisions on the president's role. Similarly for [Deputy] Minister Karkoszka: He claims that "in no way does the law violate the president's prerogatives provided for in the Small Constitution."

Rajmund Szwonder presented a last-minute suggestion to clarify the provisions of the law and proposed adding the words "in accordance with decisions of the Council of Ministers." These last words would complete the sentence on the scope of the minister's responsibilities, including signing international agreements. The minister may head negotiations and sign agreements (as foreseen by the government) in such areas as, for example, the participation of Polish soldiers in international missions and maneuvers.

Szwonedr's amendment was passed. The next session of the Sejm will show whether the deputies consider it expedient. After the Sejm vote, the law will be submitted to the president to sign. As I have already mentioned, if Lech Walesa does veto the law, we will report on another debate in the end of August. If he does not, however, the law will become effective within 14 days of its publication in the Legal Gazette, possibly by the end of this month.

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PD Suggests CE Clarify Recommendation 1201

AU1407071395 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 7 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Radu Calomfirescu: "The Council of Europe Gives Explanations, However Only the Sensible Ones Understand Recommendation 1201"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The problem of signing the basic Romanian-Hungarian treaty does not have to be identified with the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] problem on the situation of Hungarians in Romania," said Adrian Severin [Democratic Party (PD) vice president], expressing his belief that "the UDMR has become the focal point of Romanian policy. The way the UDMR moves, that is how we, the other parties move." Ensuring relations of good neighborliness with neighboring countries is an international policy problem and not a domestic problem and it is one of our country's major interests, given Romania's aspirations to achieve integration in European structures. Adrian Severin initiated a process through which the European Parliament should work out and validate an official, clear explanation for all narrow-minded people to understand Recommendation 1201. Presently there is an explanatory memorandum which notes that the principles included in Recommendation 1201 regarding rights of minorities refer exclusively to individual rights and not group rights. Moreover, the respective document of the Council of Europe [CE] says that the rights stipulated in Chapters 10 and 11 have a political dimension, meaning that countries can grant additional rights to national minorities in accordance with currently prevailing internal laws. However, the memorandum states explicitly that in no way is the weakening of countries' sovereignty and independence encouraged. At the same time, the document stipulates the conclusion of some protocols which should also protect citizens who belong to the majority in areas where they are in a minority on the territory of their own country. In this respect the memorandum gives as example the Romanians in Harghita and Covasna Counties, which are considered the most suggestive.

In spite of the fact that there is such a document, Mr. Severin's opinion is that an additional proof offered by the Council of Europe in support of its own initiative will shut up the so-called nationalists in the extremist parties of Romania.

The Democratic Party's line is completely different from the line followed by the current leadership on the issue of international relations. The Democratic Party pursues the following stages: recognition of commitments, alignment to the European policy, and the process of integration itself. The stages followed by the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] are: contesting commitments, rejecting an equal treatment of minorities (with four votes of the Romanians against 300), and creating and maintaining a permanent state of confusion. The goal of this policy is to drive Romania toward Moscow and move it away from the so-called euro-atlantic space.

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Thaler Sees Negotiations With Italy as Long-Term

AU1307161995 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 13 Jul 95

[Report on news conference by Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler by Nadja Pengov in Ljubljana on 13 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The procedure for associate membership in the European Union is under way. All further steps will be taken in the autumn, Foreign Minister Thaler said, avoiding giving any specific dates on this occasion.

Regarding relations with Italy, he believes that the countries can nevertheless agree on many things. As a proof, he quoted a recently signed memorandum on recognition of university degrees, an agreement of the Finance Ministries' delegations on accelerated traffic on the border, and a protocol on the reconstruction of [word indistinct] palace in Izola, which was signed yesterday. Minister Thaler also hailed the Italian Senate's decision to allocate financial assistance for cultural activities of the Slovene minority.

The talks about other more sensitive subjects continue, according to him. In the next few days, plenipotentiaries Jancar and De Franchis will again meet in Ljubljana:

[Thaler] This automatically means that nothing has been adopted or rejected for the time being. The talks continue and will continue. Of course, as a minister I would like to repeat my anticipation that we will reach an agreement that will benefit rather than harm our relations.

[Pengov] Today is the 75th anniversary of the arson attack of Narodni Dom in Trieste. As our foreign minister said, the arson attack marked the beginning of a pogrom of the Slovenes that only ended with the downfall of Mussolini. This is an opportunity for Italy to rectify this action at a symbolic level by returning the building to the Slovene community.

Generally speaking, Minister Thaler believes that the regulation of Slovene-Italian relations is a long-term task. Slovenia is not under any time pressure and can, thus, negotiate unburdened. Our proposal of various options is based on the 1983 Rome Treaty and on the question as to how to implement it. Any discussion of its possible amendments will, of course, depend on political decisions. If the opinion that this would not significantly infringe with our interests prevails, then this should be supported.

As for relations with Croatia, preparations for the meeting of the prime ministers are under way. The ministry complied a draft agreement that is supposed to facilitate the life to the people along the border. Consulates will be opened in Split and Maribor soon. The drawing of the sea border is still being worked on. The construction of the Secovje border crossing will not influence the final solution and represents a violation of the agreement. The ministry is also contemplating additional measures. Payment of the controversial debts of the former Ljubljanska Banka is not linked directly to the broader issues; however, as Thaler said, the issue of the foreign currency debt is somehow connected to Croatia's more favorable disposition toward Slovenia's access to the open sea, of course, via the Slovene territorial waters.

Rail Traffic Convention Signed With Italy

95BA0283A Ljubljana REPUBLIKA in Slovene 23 Jun 95 p 13

[Unattributed article: "New Convention on the Railroad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rome—Railroad traffic between Italy and Slovenia is regulated by a new convention. The document was signed yesterday by Transportation Ministers Igor Umek and Giovanni Caravale, and the ceremony was also attended by the provincial prime minister of the Friuli-Giulia province, Alessandra Guerra, and Transportation Deputy Cristiano Degano.

The convention on the conduct of railroad traffic across the border, which was signed by Ministers Umek and Caravale, replaces the old one that was signed by Italy and the former Yugoslavia. The document will also be the basis for two important treaties that are being negotiated by the leaderships of both railroad enterprises and the Interior Ministries. It essentially involves conducting customs and police inspections on trains traveling between Opcine and Sezana, which would considerably speed up the crossing of the border, because now all trains wait a considerable time on each side of the border precisely because of border inspections, because the two countries' customs officers and policemen do not have permission to travel to the other country's territory.

As part of yesterday's meeting, a working group was formed that will discuss speeding up border procedures, the possibility of combined transportation, and the transportation of livestock by railroad.

The signing of the convention on railroad traffic was also an opportunity to expand the talks to cooperation among north Adriatic ports, and to road links. It was particularly with respect to these problems that the FJK [expansion unknown] office also participated in the discussion; this was the first time that the FJK

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specifically participated in international negotiations with neighboring Slovenia, whereas until now foreign policy was exclusively within the purview of the state.

The FJK supported closer cooperation between the Trieste and Koper ports. It was agreed that the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] institution would be asked, in a joint letter, for a study of the competitive advantages of the northern Adriatic port system in supplying Central European countries, in comparison with other European port systems. The third set of problems analyzed at yesterday's meeting concerned road transportation. There are no difficulties in passenger transportation, but with respect to freight transportation, Slovenia requested a larger number of permits for its highway shippers.

Guerra also described a draft agreement entitled "FJK's Initiatives Within the Framework of Developing Cooperation With the Republic of Slovenia," which will probably be initialed in a few weeks. Within that framework, there was also a discussion of the Osimo roads and links with Hungary.

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Kontic Speaks, Notes Croatian Troops Massing

LD1307170995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zabljak, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—Radoje Kontic, the prime minister of the federal government, today said that "we are marking the anniversary of the 13 July uprising and five decades since the victory over fascism at the time of the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis, in expectation and with conviction that the new year will finally bring us peace."

Kontic spoke at the main ceremony held in Zabljak, in front of the monument to fallen soldiers from the Mount Durmitor area, to mark the anniversary of uprising day in Montenegro. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the current political situation, Kontic said that "the origins of the Yugoslav crisis show that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been actively involved in encouraging peace and stability and in creating conditions for cooperation, both in its own territory and in the Balkans and further afield."

"Our peacemaking and constructive policy is gaining increasing support and recognition in the international community. Truth about our country's positive role in the peacemaking process and its undeniable significance for stability in the Balkans is increasingly frequently finding its way in the world media," said the federal prime minister. [passage omitted]

"The way out is not in attempts to drag in foreign military factors, withdrawing UN peacekeepers, or changing their mandate," he added.

Kontic said that "the military involvement of those countries that in the past had made frequent and open claims to these areas is a particular cause of concern."

"Memories of World War II are still fresh. Such forces cannot contribute to peace and stability," he added.

The federal prime minister spoke of "concern about the aggressive and militant conduct of the authorities in former Croatia, which are trying to resolve the problems with the Republic of Serb Krajina by military means."

"Encouraged by its recent aggression, to which the international community failed to respond adequately, it (Croatia) is massing troops and military equipment along the borders with the Republic of Serb Krajina. It is a dangerous policy, which cannot in any way lead to peace and consolidation of trust."

Having stressed that our strategic goals in foreign policy were "peace and not an illusion of peace, a just and lasting solution to the crisis rather than escalation, and good-neighborly relations and cooperation in the Balkans rather than the Balkanization of Europe," Kontic said that the sanctions were the biggest obstacle to the realization of these goals.

The lifting of the sanctions, according to him, would be "a decisive blow to all extremists" in former Yugoslavia.

"It is the only way to peace and the normalization of relations and the situation, as well as security and development in Europe," said Kontic.

Markovic Alludes to Milosevic Personality Change

AU1207141695 Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 8-21 Jul 95 pp 4-5

[Column by Mirjana Markovic, wife of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and founder of JUL, Yugoslav United Left: "Exchange of Vanities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I have long since realized that many prominent artists—poets, painters, actors...have a need to be close to people in power and to have them acknowledge their work. The first time I noticed this I was in high school and I knew that many people in power could not understand either paintings or poetry and had, moreover, no interest in them.

I did not regard this as a particular flaw. Very often these were people who, as adolescents, had joined the partisans, and who after the war took on substantial obligations regarding the rebuilding of the country. These obligations were such that they took up all of their time, their energy, practically their whole lives. They had no time for regular education. And, without intending to sound pathetic, they really did educate themselves through work. This education, of course, was full of gaps. However, these gaps did not prevent them from being successful in their work—Yugoslavia was quickly rebuilt following World War II and its economic and social development was extremely successful. It was commended by both the West and the East for its development.

What I held against the individuals with gaps in their education was their sudden need to mingle with poets and painters. Of course, not all of them displayed this tendency. I would say that the majority were aware of the limitations of their education and knowledge and did not pretend to know more than they did, nor did they pretend to be interested in things they actually had no interest in. However, a part of the state leadership overnight started attending dinners at painters' houses and inviting poets to their homes. Particularly grotesque was the conversation—it both sounded and looked grotesque—between a great poet and the truly uneducated wife of an official in 1959. She did not have a clue about poetry and the poet was

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aware of this, yet this communication repeated itself and became more frequent.

However, I held this less against the politicians and their wives. Perhaps, in this rather unorthodox way, they were attempting to fill the gaps in their education and knowledge. Or perhaps they just wanted to compensate for limitations for which they bore no blame. Somehow, I held it more against the artists. They did not need such an intense intellectual and emotional link with those for whom they knew that they were not part of their intellectual and emotional world. Material gains were not the reason. Such links with political personae were as a rule pursued by those artists whose material situation was better than that of other artists.

Therefore, this was not about emotional or intellectual closeness, or affinity. It was about vanity. On both sides. The politicians believed that they were complementing their power through communication with intellectuals, with the most refined of intellectuals—artists. And the artists believed that they were complementing their social status through communication with politicians, preferably with those politicians whose influence was the greatest.

Fortunately, in those times, these two vanities were discreet. Far from the public eye. They were known to the few individuals who had the chance to observe them and who, of course, recognized what they were seeing. And, of course, this type of vanity was not a mass occurrence in those times. The majority of politicians had neither the time, the patience, nor the reasons to dine twice a week with some painter. By the same token, the majority of painters also did not have the time, the patience, or reasons to spend two evenings a week with a member of the Central Committee in charge of organizational affairs, his wife who graduated from the high school for shop assistants and never worked, and their spoilt children.

I would not be mentioning this, at one time, rare and discreet vanity today had I not observed it lately as a mass and public occurrence. Many artists—respected and objectively recognized a long time ago—are trying at all cost to meet and be photographed with ministers whose departments are not even remotely close to their activities or their broad intellectual interests. Many of those in power, in terms of education and erudition capable only of reading xeroxed materials at sessions and the daily press (minus the political, economic, and cultural commentaries), are now shaking the hands of famous artists with great familiarity and having their photographs taken with the same while an expression shared by longtime associates, like minded thinkers, almost allies, spreads across their faces.

I do not thing that I am calling into question the indispensable and justified need to acknowledge and recognize creative—artistic and scientific—work. On the contrary. A fortunate country has creative artists whose work is recognized and acknowledged by the world. However, this recognition does not include the exchange of vanities. This trade compromises both the successful ones and the ones extending the recognition.

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The two of them, he and she, shared until recently almost identical biographies. They are of similar age, they majored in similar subjects, they had a similar childhood and youth. They shared a similar world view. From the time when, following graduation, they married, they shared friends and interests. They were one of those couples that were very common in the period between the sixties and eighties. Modest, serious, hardworking, and cheerful. They would probably have stayed the same had he not suddenly become a very important person. His changed position in the social hierarchy upset the cheerful harmony of his little family.

His new, very important position, brought with it many new, immense obligations. It took away almost all of his free time. It confined his life to work and introduced him to a circle of completely new people. Television, the press, many loyal associates, the possibility of communicating with distinguished individuals worldwide, foreign travel chronicled by the media, unavoidable attention in public; all this gradually turned him into a different man.

Initially, she was the first to rejoice in the fact that he was becoming a very prominent person. But she was the last to notice that in the meantime, he had stopped being the man she married after graduation and with whom she lived until, so to speak, a few days ago. Rejoicing in the change of his social status, she primarily rejoiced in his success, just as she had done earlier when his success was modest. She also rejoiced in the change of his social status because she instinctively believed that it would be a change in their joint status. In the broader sense, of course. She was a modest person who did not much care for material goods, nor did she count on them. However, she was aware that their life would now generally be on a higher level. I do not know when she realized that she had nothing to rejoice in, that she had been mistaken. I sometimes wonder whether she realized it at all.

However, I do not believe that she is blind to what is happening. Maybe she is just hiding the realization from others, maybe even from herself. He is no longer modest. He takes extreme care about the makes of the

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cars he is chauffeured around in and the cut of the suits he wears. He is no longer serious. Increasingly often he is in "merry" company and without her. He is no longer cheerful.

At home, he is always worried by tasks. She hopes that he also sports such a worried face at work. Especially there. Hand in hand with the new job, new car, new clothes, new assistants, new status in general, as well as new personality traits, somehow also went—a new woman. This new woman was, naturally, not a part of the system. The type of man that she described does not get divorced. Divorce requires determination and nonconformism, of which he was completely devoid. Earlier in his life, determination and nonconformism adorned him only to the extent to which they did not bring his little success into question. In the current, changed circumstances he probably perceived determination and nonconformism as a threat to his newly achieved status. So he forgot them. That is why he did not divorce.

This other woman was of limited capabilities, which made her suitable to be second in a man's life. She was younger and wore shorter skirts than his wife, she had neither a university degree nor a husband, and she wanted to marry an important personality, if possible. If not, a less important personality might also be considered.

The fact that this other woman did not possess any distinct qualities to merit a noninstitutionalized relationship to any man, especially an important one, should not lead one to conclude that a more attractive woman would have been a sufficient reason for a noninstitutionalized and secret relationship. Only love would be a sufficient reason for it. However, in this case, just like in thousands of similar cases, there is no love as a matter of rule. There is only vanity on his side and interest on hers. This combination of his vanity and her interest is a demeaning motif even for one single secret hour spent together alone. Only those who love each other have the right to such an hour, no matter how secret their love must be.

Therefore, all are losers here. Primarily, of course, the two of them who have spent the greatest portion of their hitherto life together and have been similar to one another.

Everything that she looked forward to did not materialize. She did not change the status. They did not change the status. Only he has changed to the detriment of his wife and their children. What she had, she mostly lost. A harmonious family life, an attentive husband, friends. The fact is that she is in a position to appear with him in some public place, reception, dinner, film, or a theater performance, occasions that degrade. On these occasions, nobody asks her about anything (except perhaps about how the kids are doing). Nobody addresses her except to greet her upon the arrival and on departure. In the past, she and her husband used to have lunches and dinners together with their friends. They were all equal behind the table, all equally interesting and important to one another. They all took part in the discussion, everybody had something to say. Nowadays, at dinners with the important colleagues of her important husband, she keeps quiet and eats...and eats.... What else should she do? She herself has contributed to the situation in which she can only keep quiet and eat.

Naturally, he is a loser, too. He lost his former personality and ruined everything in the life of his family. He made his wife and his children miserable, of course. He lost his friends. When his very important assignment is over, nothing of what was lost will be retrieved. I am convinced of this. And when this very important assignment is over, he will lose everything that he has acquired.

The other woman is a loser, too. He was her choice not because she fell in love with him, but because she wanted to bask in the status that he enjoys. I do not known whether she knew how to do it? By progressing in her work?

She succeeded in it. Did she do it by taking advantage of the fact that her secret liaison was known? (She made sure that it be known. She intimidated her colleagues with it). And she succeeded. She was the most successful in accomplishing what she did not want—being hated at work. Yet, she never succeeded in what she wanted the most, namely, to appear with him in the high society. She will never reach this level, which is her ultimate goal. She lives in a delusion and that is her luck. Either she does not know that, at this level, she would merely keep quiet and eat—however, perhaps keeping quiet and eating seems like a bliss to her—or she might perceive this are a rational albeit painful trade off for the opportunity to be with very important and powerful people. Whatever, she will not accomplish it.

Here am I, adverse to arithmetic and rational thinking, adding it all up. Who has lost and who has gained anything? She—she lost almost everything that she had and achieved nothing that she hoped for. He—he also lost much of what he had earlier, but also got much of what he wanted. However, he will lose it all once his term of office is over. The other one—she lost her initial reputation at work. It will be difficult to retrieve it. Actually, she did not get anything that she wanted.

What I wanted to say, actually, is that before they decide to radically change the status of their lives, they

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should, thoroughly and perhaps with a pencil in their hand, analyze all the pros and the cons of this decision. Namely, the regret might come too late when nothing could be repaired anymore.

This, naturally, does not refer to those people whose main motif in life is a big and noble ideal. They do not need to add up and subtract with a pencil in their hand when they have to decide whether to make a move, which direction to chose, and what they will lose and gain on the way. Not because it is not important, but because they are motivated by this high and noble ideal, they are honorable in personal life and vice versa. Only those honorable in their private life can be honorable in their public role.

5 July

Five years ago, it was roughly the same time in the middle of the year, although it occurred to me in late spring also, that I feared the disintegration of Yugoslavia and a possible war. I feared the resurgence of capitalism. And, with the same fear, I perceived the danger of expansionism and primitivism.

Somehow, in 1990, the disintegration of the country, resurgence of capitalism, and primitivism were somehow in the air together. They were seen coming together and naturally also arrived. And here they are now, together. They are so dependent and intertwined with one another that they form an anachronistic, aggressive, and immoral unity.

One of the most powerful pillars of support for this unity was the media, rather, a section of the media that played the key role in the creation of this unity and plays the same key role in its maintenance.

This part of the media promoted hatred toward Yugoslavia to such an extent that the country was bound to disintegrate in the most brutal way—by war. This same media glorified capitalism so much, only depicting its pretty and good sides, that is sometimes seems to me that capitalism closed on the republics of the former Yugoslavia on the wings of those media in a matter of only a few nights. It is this part of the media that has the big and permanent merit for the primitivism that is conquering all spheres of life and all levels of society, spanning from economy and politics to education, entertainment, and the culture of living. The people are listening to the worst of 20th century music, children are learning the most inaccurate of histories, numerous political parties have reduced their role to vulgar mutual abuse, while the economy is dangerously flirting with a workshop type of production....

Naturally, I do not think that the media alone stand behind this picture of society. This would not be correct even if all media had behaved the same, and they did not. There are numerous other factors that acted in sync with the media in this respect. However, the media played the decisive role, furthermore, they were the only ones on this assignment.

Today, these media can be identified by publishing lies and intrigues, by being vulgar, defeatist, and simply—ugly. These media follow the maxim that press, radio, and television, in order to be interesting, must be such, must not shudder from lies, intrigues, vulgarity, and defeatism.... Were the media differently oriented, they would have remained without readers, listeners, and viewers.

I doubt. I know of media here and in the world that are not at odds with ethics and esthetics, but nevertheless do not go unnoticed among the public. On the contrary. Also, the media—especially today, in the times hallmarked by information—have the same, if not a greater responsibility than the educational and cultural institutions in the formation of the collective conscience of a nation and the individual conscience of a citizen, and particularly, in the formation of the conscience of the younger generation.

Behind the editorial policy based on the premise that the news serves to boost circulation stands the most brutal of visions of life, stripped of all humanity. It is cannibalistic curiosity rather than intellectual curiosity that is budding under its patronage. Under its patronage, hyenas are hungrily preying on human wounds, and pain and mockery becomes an answer to anything good, to any success.

In the darkness of an almost unidentifiable malice, in the abyss of perversion that borders on insanity, a web of lies, vulgarity, and commonness is being spun that will eventually take the life out of a certain era and of our lives unless it is cut in time.

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